

Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati (Arts)

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April, 1988

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ROHTAK—124 001 (India)

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Editorial Board :

Pardaman Singh, Chief Editor

J. D. Vidyalkar

R. D. Gupta

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O. P. Goyal

Pushpa Bansal

D. S. Dalal

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Saura Art in Early Medieval Period in Eastern Panjab

S.N. CHOPRA

Saura cult was a popular mode of worship in eastern Panjab of the pre-independence topography, now divided into three states viz. Panjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. This is testified by a number of sculptures/icons recovered from these regions. The chief characteristic feature of these images is that these are fashioned in the so called **Udicya style** (northern dress) as prescribed by Varahamihira in his **Brihat Samhita**.

These images also follow strictly and carefully other injunctions as laid down by the astronomer who has treated the subject quite elaborately. According to him, the image is to be attired in the northern dress covering its body from breast to feet. The face should be pleasant and smiling with a halo of bright lustre of gems and drawn with two lotus flowers in his hands, a diadem and ear-rings, a long pearl necklace and a girdle around the waist. The nose, forehead, shanks, thighs, cheeks and breast are to be elevated, and an armour should cover the whole body.

It may be noted that there were two sharp distinctive traditions prevalent in ancient India concerning the fashioning of images of the Sun god. First form of Surya as described by Varahamihira was inspired under the foreign influence and the other tradition as presented in the **Vishnudharmottara** and the **Matsya Purana** was indigenous in character. Geographically speaking the former became popular in northern India; the latter remained confined to south India. The indigenous form also remained prevalent in northern India besides the exotic form, the exotic form was conspicuous by its absence from south India. Again whereas south India continued to be independent of the exotic form traditionally indigenous in character in the early and late medieval periods, in northern India a third form gradually emerged in the amalgam of the two as a result of interaction between the two forms. It was the third form along with the exotic form which was popular in northern India in general and in the regions of the Panjab and Haryana in the ancient period in particular as described in the following text.

The indigenous tradition preserved in the **Vishnudharmottara** is testified by the iconic representation of Sun god found at Bodhgaya (c. 1st cent. B.C.) wherein the deity is shown riding a one-wheeled (**eka-cakra**) chariot drawn by four horses and

dressed in **dhoti** and turban. He is attended on either side by a female figure shooting an arrow, represented by **Usa** and **Pratyusa**. The indigenous form is also described elaborately in the **Matsya Purana**² which enjoins that the icon of **Surya** should be fashioned either seated in a chariot and holding a lotus or standing on a lotus, one wheeled chariot drawn by seven horses with a red beaming coronet on the head, two hands holding a lotus placed at shoulders' height, the face shown simply as brilliant, with **Danda** and **Pingala** depicted as guards with swords along-with **Aruna** and other attendants.

The following are the sculptures/icons recovered from obscurity and oblivion.

The most interesting and elaborate icon of the Sun god is from Hansi in Haryana installed in the local Visnu-Narayana temple, and worshipped as Visnu (Plate No. 1). It is in standing posture (**Samapada**) attired in the **Udicyavesa**. In addition to the **Avyanga** the figure is wearing a long **Vanamala** with shoes in his feet. The deity is holding as usual a full-bloomed lotus flower in each hand. The **prabhamandala** shows an imposing lotiform halo emitting fire flames on the radiant disc of the Sun, on the upper and centre of which are shown the **Navagrahas**. **Brahma** and **Visnu** are represented in sitting posture under the lotus on the right and left sides of the figure. Under these two gods are the figures of the goddesses **Usa** and **Pratyusa** shooting arrows. By either side of his legs are drawn **Danda** and **Pingala**, **Samja** and **Chaya** alongwith the **Asvins** in standing posture with exaggerated flexions in their bodies. A human figure stands between the legs of the deity. The crown of the deity is in the type of ornamental **karanda mukuta**. The whole panel is painted.

Another icon of **Surya** belonging to this category is from **Sunam** in **Sangrur** district of the **Panjab** (Plate No. II). The figure stands on a lotus seat placed on the **Saptaratha** pedestal. Like the **Hansi** figure, **Danda** and **Pingala** are fashioned alongwith female figures sitting in their flexioned legs. The horse-faced **Asvins** are replaced by human figures and the **Navagrahas** by flying figures of celestial beauty. The unique element in the sculpture is its round and placid face which has a serene and graceful expression with drooping eyelids, bow-shaped, well defined eyebrows and soft but full and fleshy lips.

A legend lingers that there was a celebrated Sun temple in the area and the idol is believed to have been removed from the temple and buried at the site to save it from being broken by invaders, possibly during the 12th century A.D. The popularity of Sun-worship in the area is further evident from another similar imposing image of **Surya** found from **Sunam**, though broken in four pieces, is now preserved in the **Haryana Government Museum** at **Chandigarh**. It belongs to a somewhat earlier period.

An image of Surya belonging to the same category has been found from Beri in Rohtak district of Haryana and is now in Haryana Government Museum at Chandigarh (Plate No. III). The figure stands on a lotus placed on Pancaratha pedestal. The deity is shown wearing a Yajnopavita. A female figure stands in between the feet. The horse-faced Asvins are there in this sculpture. The round face in this image bears a mystical smile, usually found in the Kampuchean ancient sculptures.

A Second figure of Surya from Beri (Rohtak) found from the same place and now placed in the Haryana Government Museum at Chandigarh is similar to the one mentioned above (Plate No. IV). Bhat unlike the former, it contains the figures of Uśá and Pratyusá and wears inward looking eyes with severe expression on the face in place of the 'mystical smile'.

The figures from Gajjar Kheri in Haryana is similar to the above description with possible omission of the horse-faced Asvins (Plate No. V). The bow-shaped eyebrows have been reinforced with a second lining. The eyes are half closed. In contrast to this the charm of the earlier figures is waning a little.

The second figure of Surya from Hansi, in the Haryana Government Museum at Chandigarh, is similar to the above description. (Plate No. VI) The figure is in between the feet sitting posture instead of standing. The Prabhāvali has a faint outline of the lotiform halo which gives a sense of incompleteness in the present form. The deity exhibits a harsh expression. The execution on the whole shows signs of crudity.

The images of the Sun-god brought from Lahore after the partition and now preserved in the Chandigarh Museum was found from Agroha in Haryana.³ The representation of the deity is similar to the above description with the exception that its execution is requisite and the expression serene and inward looking. The figure in between the feet is omitted and the lotus-stand on the pancaratha pedestal is not represented. The Yajnopavita is also missing.

Another figure of standing Surya, probably found from Morni-ka-Tal (Naraingarh, Haryana)⁴ in the Chandigarh Museum, is damaged in the upper part with the head of the deity missing. The attributes of the Súrya are similar to the above description with the exception to the return of the lotus-stand on the saptaratha pedestal and the featuring of the horse-faced Asvins.

Two sculptures from Hansi and Pehowa in the Haryana Government Museum at Chandigarh are damaged extensively, the upper portions are missing completely. The sculpture from Hansi represent the female sitting in the meditative mudra in between the feet (Plate No. VII). Vanamala is partially preserved. The execution

seems to be of better quality. The damaged figures from Pehowa show crude craftsmanship (Plate No. VIII). The lotus-stand is omitted. The figures of Danda and Pingala are fully preserved.

The sculpture of Surya from Duranda Khera (Haryana), now in the Haryana Government Museum at Chandigarh, is in crude craftsmanship (Plate No. IX). The Prabhavali as well as the lotus-stand is missing. Two figures with indistinct attributes are discernible by the side of his legs. The sculpture from Hat (Jind, Haryana) in the Haryana Government Museum at Chandigarh is in a similar visual form as above but more crude and indiscernible in its attributes.

A metre high sculpture of Surya from Dohgi village in Unada district of Himachal Pradesh (now housed in the Himachal State Museum, Simla) depicts him seated in a chariot drawn by seven horses, driven by a miniature charioteer Aruna. It is placed on the pancartha mutilated pedestal. The deity is wearing shoes and holding a full-bloomed lotus in either hand with Usa and Pratyusa shooting arrows. He is flanked by Danda and Pingala with their usual attributes. The Prabhavali with lotiform halo behind the deity's head is mutilated. The deity is wearing the Karanda mukuta. The image is lively even in its mutilated condition and shows a forward movement and thrust.

Originally brought probably from Pinjore in Haryana, there is an image of Surya in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh⁵ betraying crude craftsmanship in the standing posture with the above mentioned attributes. Seven prancing horses are shown on the pedestal of the sculpture.

Having bearing on this category another sculpture of Surya was found from Pehowa now in the Haryana Government Museum, Chandigarh (Plate No. XI). It is in a mutilated condition. Surya is seated on a chariot drawn by horses whose number is unknown. He is holding lotuses. By and large the attributes seem to be in agreement with that of Dohgi.

Another unique icon of Surya has been found from Gajjar Kheri (Haryana) now in the Haryana Government Museum, Chandigarh (Plate No. XII). It depicts Surya seated as if on a chariot though chariot and the horses are not represented, holding lotuses in both hands and wearing a Yajnopavita. He is shown seated in a Garbhagrha of a votive temple. The votive temple is in pyramidal style. What is unique about this icon is that its iconographical traits confirm to the general indigenous patterns.⁶

The above survey of the sculptures of Surya can be broadly classified into two categories. The first category belongs to the exotic Mithra type and the second to the mixed type involving both the Indian and Mithra elements. The exclusive Indian type is completely absent. This is an iconographical classification. These sculptures

do not seem to belong to a particular school of art. Stylistically some of the sculptures are nearer to the Rajasthan-Gujarat style and others to the north-western style that came into vogue after the decline of the Gandhara school. Some of the sculptures especially from the Haryana areas have facial akinness to Rajsthan type. The round and placid faces of some of the sculptures from the same areas and that from Sunam in the Panjab are identical with those found in the Bamiyan rock cave in Afganistan drawing from the Sassanian art. The painting of the Sun god on the vault of the niche of the 120 foot huge Buddha at Bamiyan depict the Sun in a quadriga.⁷ The relief of Surya at Bodhgaya is also done in a similar fashion with a different treatment to the mode of dress. The Bamiyan solar divinity is fashioned in the Udicyavesa with left hand on the sword on the pattern of headless portrait statue of Kaniska from Mathura which has of course its right hand on the sword and javelin in right hand. Usa and Pratyusa shooting arrows are dressed up like Palas and Athena. The flying Gandharvas are painted on the upper sides of the Prabhavali dome after the actual disc of the rayed-Sun. This is a rare pictorial version of the Sun-god. The round and placid face is a reflexion of Sassanian art. Some of the characteristic features of Udicyavesa as described by Varahamihira viz. the Avanga, the full bloomed lotus in either hand and the typical jewellery are conspicuously omitted.

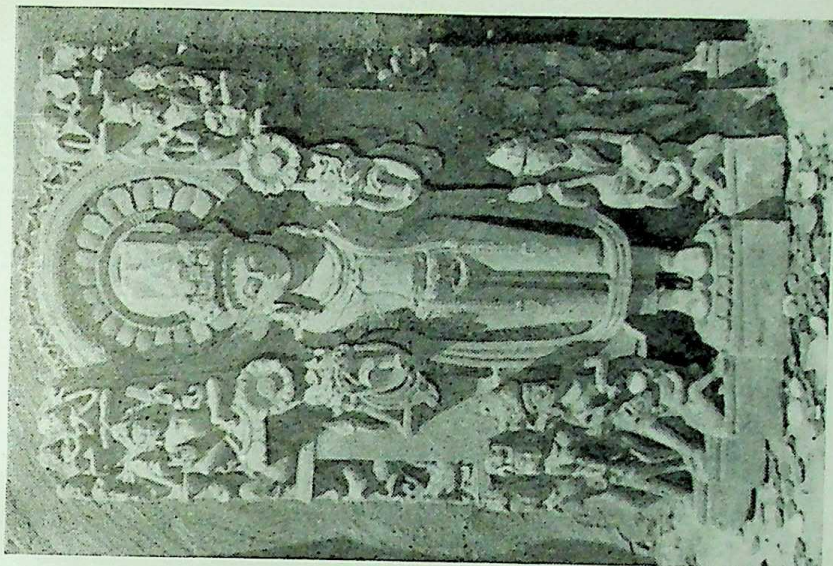
The artists hailing from these regions fashioned these images in the background of their respective artistic expertise and Indian tradition. Hence these sculptures of Surya should be analysed in the regional context irrespective of their dynastic patronage.⁸ Keeping in view their early medieval character, some of these sculptures have been meticulously carved in medieval idioms as compared with any other part of India. That these images belong to the early medieval period is corroborated by the Puranic records. Apart from Varahamihira, the Matsya Purana is one of the earliest Puranas, written in about 6th-7th century A.D.⁹ to furnish a detailed description regarding the fashioning of the Sun-images. The Samba (dated 500 A.D.) and the Bhavisya Puranas which are reproduced in the later Puranas like the **Skanda**, the **Brahma**, the **Varaha**, the **Agni** and the **Garuda** are undoubtedly the most comprehensive on mithraic Sun-cult but these do not take notice of the native traditions of the solar iconography. The description of the Sun-images is not to be found in the earlier Puranas like Visnu and the Brahma which were composed between the third and the fifth centuries A.D.¹⁰

REFERENCES

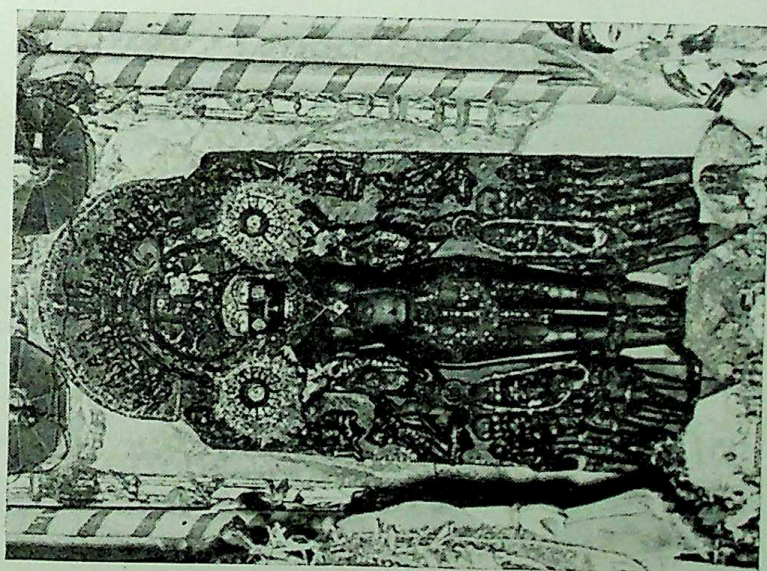
1. *Brihat Samhita* LVIII, 46-52.
2. 261.1.10.
3. D.C.Bhattacharya, *Medieval Indian Sculpture*, p. 83, D.5, fig. 40.

4. *Ibid.*, D.7, pp. 84-85.
5. *Ibid.*, D.6, p. 84.
6. *Matsya Purana*, 261.1-10; XCIV.1; *Bhavisya Purana*, 124. 13-29; *Samba Purana*, 29, 2.
7. B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 119.
8. For a discussion on regional and dynastic patronage see Aschwin De Lippe, *Indian Medieval Sculpture*, 1978.
9. R.C. Hazra, *Puranic Records*, p. 48; *Studies in Upapuranas*, Vol. II, pp. 57ff.
10. R.C. Hazra, *Puranic Records*, p. 175; S.C. Srivastava, *The Puranic Records on the Sun Worship*, Purana XI, No 2, pp.235-41.

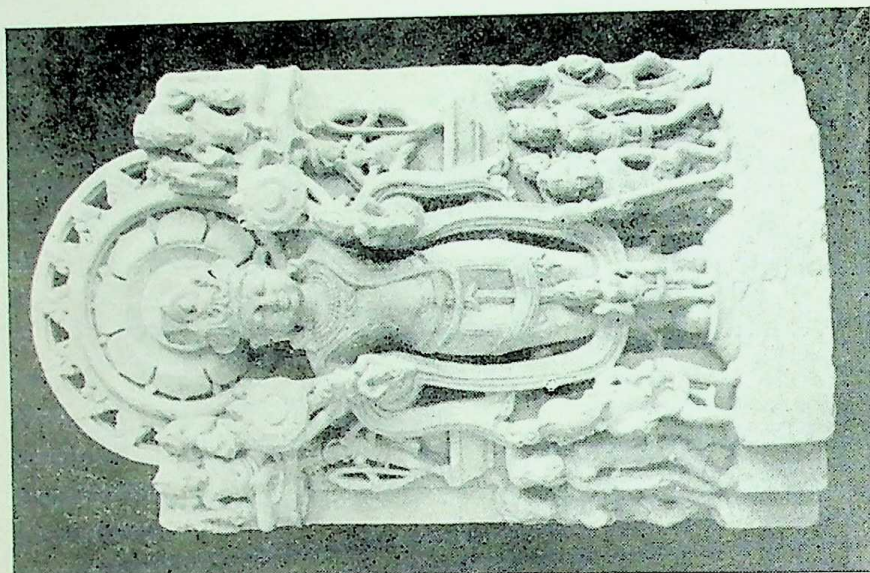
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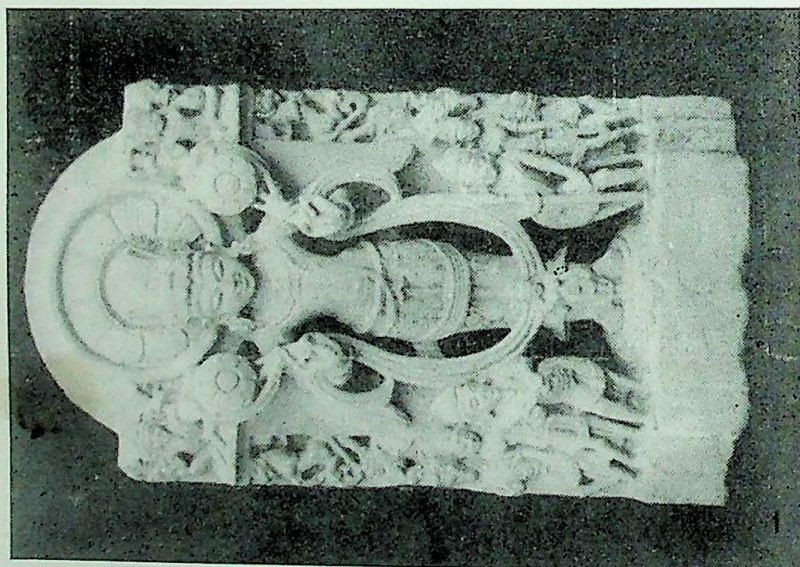
Pl. No. II
Surya — Sunam, Sangrur (Punjab)



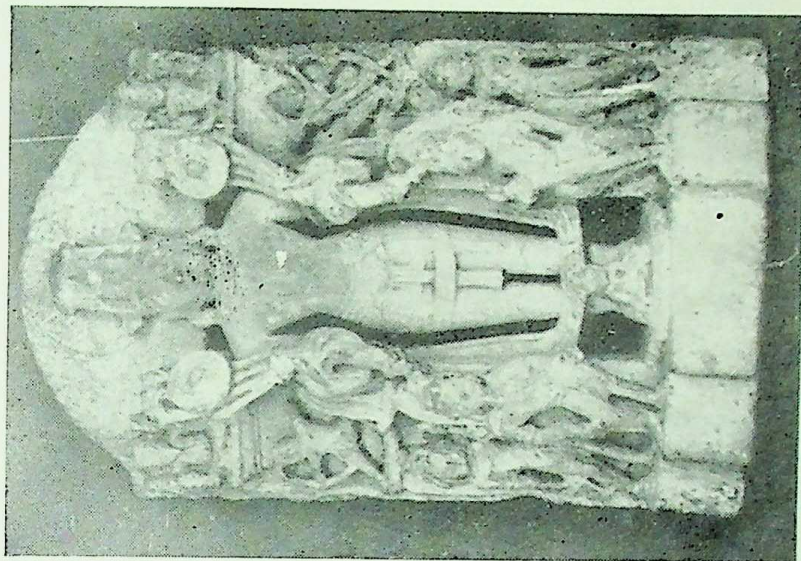
Pl. No. I
Surya—Hansi



Pl. No. IV
Surya -- Beri



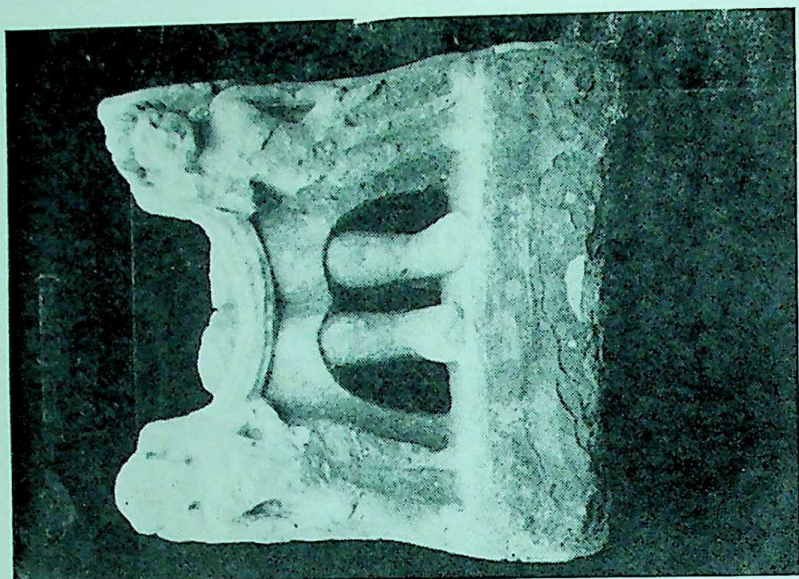
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Surya -- Beri (Rohtak)



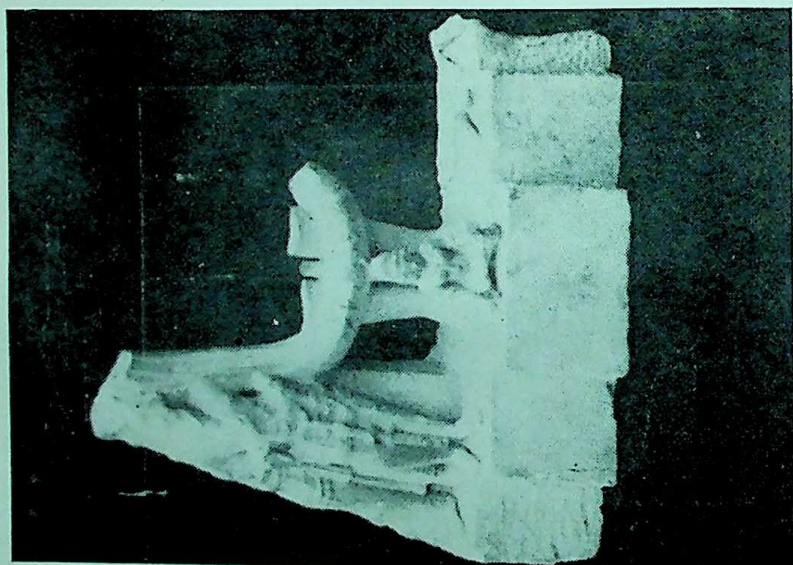
Pl. No. VI
Surya—Hansi (Hissar)



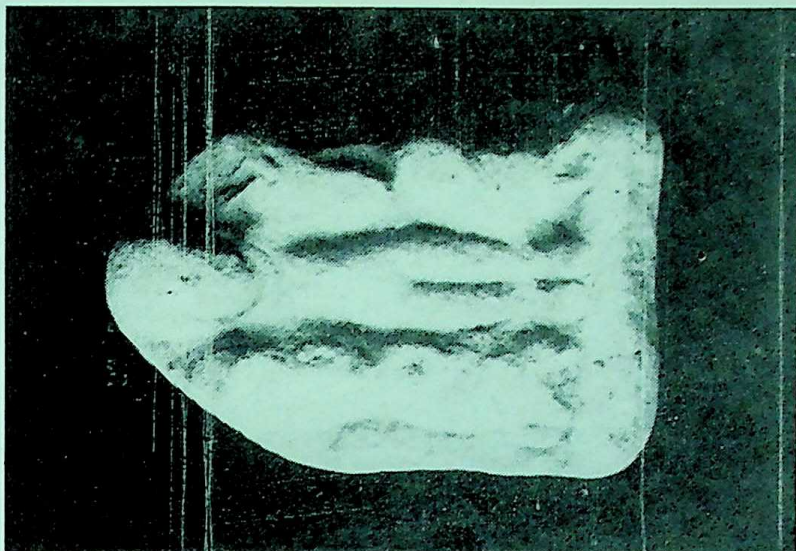
Pl. No. V
Surya—Gujjar Kheri



Pl. No. VIII
Surya—Pehowa (Kurukshetra)



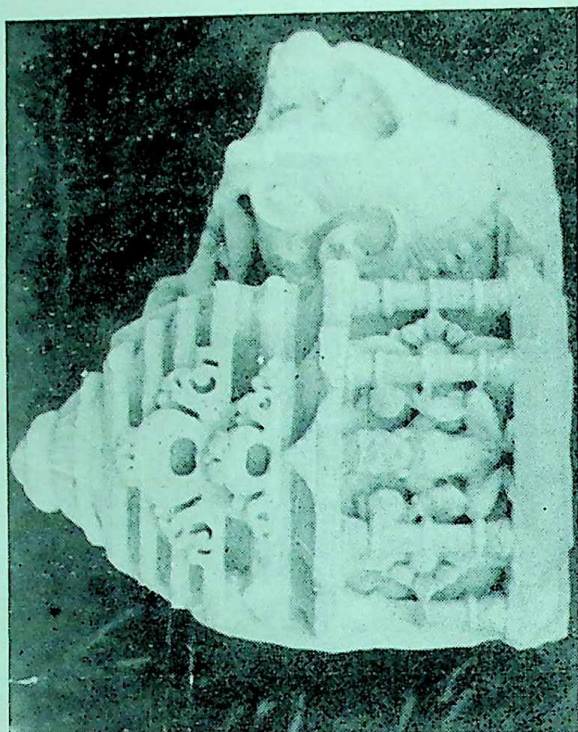
Pl. No. VII
Surya—Hansi



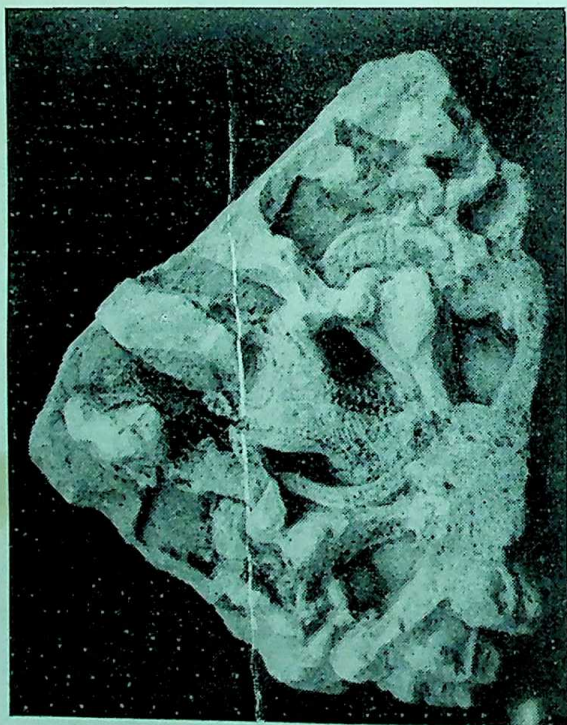
Pl. No. X
Surya — Hat (Jind)



Pl. No. IX
Surya — Durand Khara



Pl. No. XII
Surya - Gujjar Kheri



Pl. No. XI
Surya — Pehowa

Evaluating Annie Besant's Activities in the Period 1916-1918 in India as an Input Towards Gaining a Greater say in the Labour Party Movement in Britain

JYOTSANA TEWATHIA

Mrs. Annie Besant was an important figure in the history of the Indian National Congress. She came to this country as a Theosophist in 1893 and ended up being the President of the Indian National Congress in 1917. In the interim she organised the All-India Home Rule League on the pattern of the Irish League with the express purpose of securing political reform. She declared her aim in a signed editorial for her weekly, **Commonweal** : "We aim at the building up of complete self-government from village councils, through district and municipal boards and provincial legislative assemblies to a National Parliament, equal in its powers to the legislative bodies of the self-governing colonies, by whatever name these may be called; also at the direct representation of India in the Imperial Parliament....." Her singularity is heightened by the fact that she was active at a period in the history of the Indian National Congress when the moderates had died and the extremists were incarcerated. Therefore, there was a virtual vacuum of leadership in the Congress. At this stage she became active within the National Congress and left a significant imprint on it even though the coruscation of overtly political activity was very limited, 1916 to 1918, when she left mainstream politics in order to concentrate on the organisation of Labour in India.

How do we explain the "sudden eruption" of Mrs. Besant in active political agitation? Why did she come out of the narrow sphere of theosophy to take part in nationalist agitation? Why did a white-skinned woman choose to fight against her own people during the war when Britain was faced with difficulties? One explanation is that she was in genuine sympathy with the aspirations of the people of India. She loved India and its people and culture. She wanted for India a place of respect in the British Empire. Gopi Nath in his book, **The Home Rule Movement on India**, however, argues that the Home Rule Leagues were a "safety valve" for expression of discontent prevailing in war time India.

This paper is an attempt to answer this question. Hitherto Mrs. Annie Besant has been studied in the context of Indian National Congress, India or Theosophy. It

may be recalled here that before coming to India she had been active in British Labour circles. Later, she suddenly snapped those connections, adopted theosophy, came to India and immersed herself in social and educational advancement of the Indians. It is suggested here that her "sudden eruption" in Indian nationalist agitation was a calculated move to secure a place in Britain's Labour and Radical circles. She thought she could become influential in Labour Party if she represented a large and important constituency, whether at home or in the colonies. She chose a colony and what could be a better, more glorious colony than India, "the gem of British Empire." It will be shown here that her primary motive was to gain influence in the Labour Party in Britain, via India. And her efforts did not go waste. The Party, after the war, was ready to field her as a candidate for Parliamentary elections in Britain.

During the nineteenth century, after decades of foreign rule, the Indians, educated in English, adopted the British method of petitioning, as a means of handling disputes and discontent. This method was further perfected by the middle-class Indians who roused by the Ilbert Bill controversy in 1883, established the Indian National Congress. This was intended to be the "germ of a Native Parliament".¹

The Indians wanted, besides Indianisation of the civil services, a greater share in the government of their own country. At the second Congress a resolution was passed reflecting this demand of the Indians—"We want to be legislated for by people who have a real knowledge of our habits and customs, by people who understand us, who are of us, not by foreigners and strangers."² The young Madan Mohan Malaviya had given the call for, "No taxation without representation,"³ because the organisation of National Congress had shown that, "the Indians were not dumb sheep or cattle. India has found a voice at last, in this great Congress." The value of the Congress lay in the fact that Indians could ask for their rights not as a favour but as a matter of right, as "free-born British citizens." The Congress wanted to reform the system of administration from within. They found its structure acceptable and they only wanted minor changes which could accommodate their demands. The Indians adopted this method because they wished to discuss "in an orderly and peaceable manner questions of vital importance affecting their well-being" and they felt that they were following "the only course by which the Constitution of England enabled them to represent their views to the ruling authority."⁴

The Indian National Congress was developed by its British founder, A.O. Hume, on the pattern of the Anti-Corn Law League. The Congress in its fourth session tried to develop district Congress caucus, organised lectures in rural areas and collected funds for agitation. Baylay says: The Congress had clearly

developed the idiom of Mass agitation in its very earliest days ...the earliest Congress leaders knew how to capitalise on latent discontent.”⁵

This tradition of opening the doors of the Congress wider to the masses was developed further by the prominent Nationalist leader, B.G. Tilak. The purpose of this agitation was to make sure that the petitions, representing the demands of the Indians, were heard by the rulers. In order to convince the House of Commons that the people of India wanted reforms, Tilak, Aurobindo Ghose, B.C. Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai endeavoured to take the message of the Congress to a larger number of people, to expand its base and to inculcate a spirit of swadeshi among the Indians. This style of petitioning by the Congress was widespread during the years 1905-1908.

The Allahabad Convention of 1907 of the Indian National Congress after the Surat split of 1907 confined its control in the hands of the Moderates. The same year saw Tilak exiled at Mandalay, A. Ghose at Pondicherry, Bipin Chandra Pal at London and Lala Lajpat Rai in America. While the Extremist leaders were prosecuted by the British rulers, social and religious reform associations and their activists were left to operate freely.

Annie Besant was working as a Theosophist leader and waiting on the sidelines. Her task of rejuvenating India seemed apolitical and she was left free by the British to work for the uplift of Indian society. She was of the belief, “The future of India and the happiness of her people can never be secured by political methods, but only by the revival of her philosophy and religion.”⁶

Annie Besant followed the model of agitation started by Tilak, instead of following the established method of the National Congress since 1885. Annie Besant laid emphasis on the fact that India had no future if she followed the West, that she had little to learn from England, which was “Westernised, rent with the struggles of political parties, heated with the fires of political passions, the people ignorant and degraded.” She reminded the Indians of their ancient cultures and civilizations—an era of golden age, when the Indians had played a central role in reordering their life and society. She told them that they could have a golden future if they so desired. Through the use of the metaphors of ‘golden age’, ‘Ancient Civilisation’, the symbols of ‘Parantapa’ from the Gita, she alongwith her contemporaries furthered the cause of Indian Nationalism under the banner of the Home Rule League.

The year 1914 was very important both in Indian as well as World history. Tilak was released in Poona on 17 June 1914. One and a half month later on 1 August Britain declared war on Germany in the name of liberty and justice for the people of Europe.

In India the battle for securing liberty and justice for the people was launched on 3 September 1916. The campaign continued up to 1918 under the direction of the Home Rule Leagues' leaders, B.G. Tilak and Mrs. Besant, in India as well as in Great Britain.

A contemporary of Annie Besant, Charles Bradlaugh's daughter wrote that she was "tireless as a worker, she could both write and study longer without rest or respite than any other person I have known; and such was her power of concentration that she could work under circumstances which would have confounded almost every other person. Though not an original thinker, she had a really wonderful power of absorbing the thoughts of others, of blending them, and of transmuting them into glowing language. Her industry, her enthusiasm, and her eloquence made her a very powerful ally to whatever cause she espoused."⁷

Annie Besant is remembered in India today for bringing the policy of the Indian National Congress of securing a greater say in the administration of the country into the realm of "practical politics." She made the attainment of Home Rule an immediately realisable goal. To secure this, she asked the Indians to agitate for Home Rule: "India's good must come first with you as with us... Help us in this."⁸ She exhorted the Indians to help the British in their war effort, only if India was recognised as an equal, and given the right of freedom within the British Empire.

It is commonly held that Annie Besant was a "spiritual pilgrim"⁹ and a Theosophist leader only.¹⁰ The second belief follows from this that she had a limited number of supporters and that she lost political power in Indian affairs after 1917 and that the Home Rule Leagues were only a "safety valve."¹¹

H.F. Owen in his article, "The Home Rule Leagues, 1915-1918", regards her primarily as a Theosophical leader only. "The greatest strength of Mrs. Besant's League lay in Bombay City, Gujrat, Sind, the United Provinces, Bihar and Southern India. These were the areas where the Theosophical Society was strongest" and again the "Theosophical Society had penetrated most deeply into the four language-regions of the Madras Presidency, and it was through the many lodges of the Society here, as we have seen, that Mrs. Besant had the greatest success in setting up branches of the League and mobilising support for it."¹² Aurobindo Ghose, the nationalist leader of the 1905-08 Bengal partition agitation, in exile at Pondicherry, wrote of the "sudden eruption" of Mrs. Besant into the field of Indian politics. Cashman wrote, "It is ironic that a relative newcomer to Indian politics, Annie Besant, could weld together (an) India wide organisation."¹³ Gopi Nath in his book concludes that the Home Rule Leagues were a 'safety valve' for expression of discontent, prevailing in war-time India.¹⁴ B.S. Moonje, one of the most important lieutenants of Tilak, told the Director, Criminal Intelligence in an interview: "Mrs Besant has done her

best for Home Rule but as a matter of fact she had been used throughout as a tool by the real Home Rule Statesman, who was Tilak. Mrs. Besant was merely an agent of Tilak, although she did not know it herself."¹⁵

Both Gopi Nath and Ram Gopal are of the opinion that Annie Besant lost her control over the sections of Indians she had prepared for agitating against the British in the year 1918. The issue was of cooperating with the British in securing recruits for the war. This was actually a tactical withdrawal which seemed to contemporaries as a compromise with the British. "She lost her influence over the Nationalists, and the Home Rule Leagues which she had founded in 1916 passed beyond her control. Its ranks were disintegrated. In February 1919 she was ousted from its presidency and was replaced by M.K. Gandhi who had by now emerged as a Nationalist leader."¹⁶ Annie Besant's tactical withdrawal from agitation has thus been misunderstood.¹⁷

One of the several contemporaries who realised the value of Annie Besant was Gandhi, the *satyagrahi*, freshly returned from South Africa. At a public meeting held to protest against the internment of Annie Besant in Madras Presidency in 1916, he said to the people that, "There were three grounds on which they should stand by Mrs. Besant, viz., gallantry, pity and self-interest...The question of self-interest lay in the fact that they wanted Mrs. Besant in their Presidency because nobody could carry on agitation better than she."¹⁸

Annie Besant had to overcome several hurdles before she could successfully lead the Indian Nationalist struggle. While the Indians were naturally suspicious of her white skin, the British did not trust her, for she had been an agitator before she came to India. They were sometimes helpful to her but more often actively and openly hostile. The suspicions of the British were justified to some extent; they feared her popularity among the Indians. The view of the bureaucracy was : "that the proper way of dealing with her would be either her deportation from India or her internment by the Madras Government."¹⁹ This course of action was advocated because they did not trust her for it was felt that "even if she came with good intentions she would certainly be led away by the enthusiasm of the students to commit herself to a strong Home Rule crusade."²⁰ The fear and distrust of Annie Besant had a solid base. The British were committed to give India Home Rule but the time frame had not been decided.

Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras Presidency, who had to actually deal with Mrs. Annie Besant and her agitation wrote in a despatch to the government in Britain that she was "imperious and unrestrained in temper, vain, restless and ambitious, of **commanding** intellectual power and wonderful (sic) bodily vigour, a

most capable organiser, **thoroughly versed in all the methods of Western political agitation and controversy, a persuasive and forceful speaker**, with apparently ample financial resources at her disposal."²¹ (emphasis added). All these reactions present a useful profile of the magnitude of the threat Mrs. Besant posed, both to the British administration and the nationalist leaders. The threat was largely a result of her provocative activities which upset the hitherto calm and placid relationship between the nationalists and the government and both were fearful of the situation getting out of hand.

These myths continue to persist more than half a century after her death for the simple reason that she has not been studied in the context of her being a politician within the British political firmament. The available historical facts regarding her political activities in India and in Britain have not been dealt with before evaluating her contribution to Indian politics and Labour Party politics. A closer study of these facts will lead to a fuller understanding of Annie Besant, the "politician" that she actually was. This paper is a preliminary attempt to generate re-thinking on this issue. This will help in a more thorough examination of Annie Besant's contribution to Indian and British politics after demolishing the myths surrounding her.

Annie Besant landed in India on 16 November, 1893 at Tuticorin. The welcome given to her by the people of south India was "burdened with descriptions and laudations devoted to the *avatara* 'Anna bai.'"²² In Bombay, the Theosophists greeted her similarly: "O Annie! heroine among the learned, you are a rare personage, and have become, O good lady, a priceless respository of excellent knowledge by churning the great ocean of truth."²³ Annie Besant adopted deliberately the policy of openly identifying herself with the Indians:

Annie Besant travelled in connection with the Theosophical work to America, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Italy, Australia and Britain. She undertook educational work in Banaras from 1898 and she toured the country to give lectures on religious and educational matters. In these efforts she received the aid of many native princes and prominent Hindus. In 1907 she was chosen as the President of the Theosophical Society, which had its Indian headquarters at Banaras, and international headquarters at Adyar, Madras. From this time to 1913 when she proclaimed publicly that "the price of India's loyalty is India's freedom,"²⁴ she worked for social reform in Indian society.

During the course of her work in India, she saw that society was still traditional, the people were religious, some literate in English, some in the vernacular and some not at all. The majority of the population in India was Hindu. Nehru wrote on the state of Indian society and Mrs. Besant on his return from England, after the completion of his studies: "Annie Besant was a powerful influence in adding to the confidence of the Hindu middle-classes in their spiritual and national heritage, the rising

middle-classes were politically inclined and were not so much in search of a religion; but they wanted some cultural roots to cling on to, something that gave them assurance of their own worth, something that would reduce the sense of frustration and humiliation that foreign conquest and rule had produced.”²⁵

Annie Besant had openly and very clearly indicated the task she had set before herself in India which was at first sight clearly apolitical. To the question of entering Indian politics she said clearly that her ‘work in the sphere of politics’ was over. She admitted that she was willing to serve India in other spheres, “to be able to lay at the feet of India any service is to me full reward for the many sufferings of a stormy life through which the power of service has been won.” She rejected the Westernised model of civilisation in favour of the ancient Indian one. Her ideal for India, she said, was : “the India that I love and revere and would fain see living among nations, is not an India Westernised.”²⁶ Her ideal for India was in its ancient culture.

Annie Besant had been a political agitator in England and had been persecuted several times. She now adopted this ostensibly apolitical style to ensure that she did not get into trouble with the authorities and could still serve India. She explains thus : “But my extreme political views had also much to do with the general feeling of hatred with which I was regarded. Politics as such I cared not for at all Wherever they touched on the life of the people they became to me of seething interest I was a Home Ruler...a passionate opponent of all injustice to nations weaker than ourselves so that I found myself always in opposition to the government of the day.... I was denounced as an agitator, a firebrand, and that all orthodox society turned up at me its most respectable nose.”²⁷

In continuing the trend of her contemporaries she catalysed the Hindu society into looking at itself in the context of the 19th century. V. Chirol, her critic, was to grudge the fact that “the advent of Theosophists gave a fresh impetus to the (Hindu) revival and certainly no Hindu has done so much to organise and consolidate the movement as Mrs. Besant.”²⁸ Annie Besant had been very successful in her task, as Chirol surmised : “It is surprising that Hindus should turn their backs upon our civilisation, when a European of highly trained intellectual power and with an extraordinary gift of eloquence comes and tells them that it is they who possess and have from all time possessed the key to supreme wisdom.”²⁹

The apolitical work that she had carried on with such great success was formally turned into open political activity on 3 September 1916. The Home Rule Leagues were launched publicly by Mrs. Besant in Madras. With this, the nature of her work in India underwent a total transformation.

This transformation came about due to both internal as well as external events. Developments in the world came to affect India directly, specially the war between England and Germany, which started on 1 August 1914. Once the war had begun, the British were determined to win it at all costs. In order to mobilise the people, both at home and in the colonies, their leaders had to be coopted into the power structure. Among the colonies India was the jewel of the British Empire because she had the largest supplies of men, money and materials. Therefore, it became necessary to offer some sort of concessions in order to obtain the support of the colonies.

While war for liberty and justice was going on in Europe, Mrs. Besant with her battle cry of "Home Rule" to India started a powerful agitation. She had the potential of stirring up a hornet's nest, even while rousing support for the war effort. In order to rouse the people to the cause of the Motherland, she very meaningfully culled out religious symbols from the sacred books of the Hindus which revolved around the story of the battle of Kurukshetra. This she used for political purposes. In her weekly journal **Commonweal** she explained to the people at large, to the British rulers, and to the political game-watchers in England her programme for the Home Rule soldiers: "For a constitutional fight, along with safe lines, by law-abiding methods, there is no teaching so valuable and inspiring as that which the **Gita** yields. Do not look upon it as a Hindu scripture but accept it as the National Song of India. I am not a Hindu but I have found in it inspiration to love and labour for the Motherland."³⁰ She asked the Indians to give up their sectarian differences and rally to the cry of 'Vande Matram'. Thus she tried to provide the Indians with an ideal to worship their Mother Land.³¹

The moderate Hindi Journal **Saraswati** edited by Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi, the moderate turned Home Rule organs like **Modern Review**, **Hindustan Review**, **Indian Review**, active Home Rule organs like Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi's **Pratap**, Malaviya's **Maryada**, Annie Besant's **Commonweal**, Jamnadas Dwakadas's **Young India**, **Mahratta** and Arya's **Saddharam Pracharak** all wrote and preached in this style and tradition.

English language newspapers set the lead that was followed by the vernacular press, and thus spread the message of Home Rule into the cities, towns and villages. The lead was given by Annie Besant's **New India** edited from Madras. It was taken up in west by **Kesari** of Tilak, **Tribune** in the north, **Leader** in the United Provinces, **Searchlight** in Bihar, **Amrita Bazar Patrika** in Bengal.

The Home Rule League movement was launched through the newspapers and agitation was kept up through the entire nationalist press. In the north, the **Leader** played a significant role in maintaining the momentum of the agitation. After the

arrest of Annie Besant in June 1917, the nation was leaderless for some time. C.Y. Chintamani, the editor, reminded the people of the silverlining in the dark clouds that were threatening to over-shadow the Home Rule League agitators :

“Low-minded men do not undertake a task for
fear of obstacles,
Mediocrities stop when faced by them,
But the best men do not give up the task
once commenced though repeatedly
confronted by them.”³²

Mrs. Annie Besant was very clear in her political use of religious symbols. She attempted to use them scientifically to arouse the people of India. Though she was very successful in her task of mobilising the numerically dominant sections of the Indian population to direct political action yet there were some difficulties too. She wrote openly of her method in *New India* : ‘And to those Indians who are afraid to fight, to them we would quote Sri Krishna’s words to Arjuna, “Yield not to impotency O ! Partha: Stand up Parantapa”’.³³

The Home Rule agitation did not, generally speaking, stir the depressed classes, the non-Brahmins and Muslims. They did not understand what she said. Their isolation was reflected in their adoption of independent courses of action for the redressal of their own grievances. The mahars, a depressed class of the city of Bombay, and the non-Brahmins of Madras felt that they wanted political Home Rule all right, but they also wanted “that real spiritual Home Rule for the salvation of our soul for which we are appealing to you.”³⁴ For them Home Rule had a different meaning—recognition within the caste system and of course admittance to temp’les. The non-Brahmins formed a separate Justice party in Madras, declared war against Home Rule, for they were convinced that the Home Rule agitation could not secure them social justice. The strategy of the Indian National Congress and Mrs. Besant inadvertently by-passed the aspirations of the Muslims, the bulk of whom were agitated about the future of the Khalifa in Turkey and their survival in a future Hindu dominated set-up. The Lucknow Pact 1916 was only a half-hearted attempt to patch up the differences between the two and that patch became wider when for mass-mobilisations they began using overtly Hindu symbols in order to widen the support for the Indian National Congress and Home Rule League Movement.

There is a myth regarding Annie Besant that she had a very limited success in mobilising Indians to her cause, and that the ‘Home Rule Leagues’ were only a “safety valve.”³⁵ This belief is based on the assumption that she was supported only by the Theosophists, the English-educated elite and that her political power ended with the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress in December 1917. After that her followers turned to Gandhi who was then emerging as the saviour of India.

However, a study of her activities in Indian politics reveals a totally different picture. In August 1915, she declared in her daily paper, *New India*, as to what her style of politics was to be. She criticised the method that the Congress had been following since 1885 of requesting and praying as waste "since it was not at all a profitable game."³⁶ She indicated to the people of India and to the 'revolutionaries' specially that "there is no reason for excitement and abuse."³⁷ Her solution to the problems of India was that all the people of India "must work at once, without delay without rest, without haste"³⁸ during the war years because she felt that "to nations as to individuals come opportunity."³⁹

Mrs. Besant tried to show a way whereby a demand could be made and got conceded, not as a favour but because a sufficiently large segment of the population was demanding their right. Herein lay the purpose of making the Indian National Congress a mass movement. To begin with, she started to mobilise a few groups of people only. This she did because she felt that "in a country like this, where the masses of the people are of different languages, of different faiths, and different traditions from those who rule them, it is part of the necessity of the case that some amongst the people themselves should translate the popular grievances and speak out the popular desires."⁴⁰ (Emphasis added)

In order to exhort the people to work for the attainment of Home Rule, she reminded the Indians that "British politicians are people who judge the value of claims by the energy of those who put them forward."⁴¹ She insisted on the need to form a scheme of reforms embodying the demands of the Indian people. She herself played a leading role, both through back-room politics and use of different words, openly manoeuvring "to persuade the Congress, the one voice of India, to speak out boldly, clearly, insistently." She declared that Indians did not "chaffer with the blood of her sons... for so much liberty, so much right. India claims her right as a nation... not as a reward but as a right."⁴²

In order to ask for one's rights, Indians had to face great risks, arrests, exile, internment together with various other forms of repression. During the war, the Defence of India Act had been passed ostensibly to crush sedition. In order to be able to continuously carry on propaganda, agitation, she openly and publicly declared her aims and methods of operation. In carrying on legitimate, non-violent and constitutional agitation she adopted to the Indian environment, the tactics and strategies she had perfected in the Radical and Fabian Socialists' Movements in the 1870s and 1880s in Britain.

She declared, "My work is to agitate for self-government and that must be done in the press, on the platform, in the country at large."⁴³ She asked the Indians to

consider the matter of securing "Home Rule as a question of practical politics." This, according to her, required them "to form a definite scheme of self-government, not in the dim and distant future, but as a claim to be pressed hard immediately after the war."⁴⁴

Annie Besant had a strong power base in England. She used this to launch the Home Rule propaganda campaign in England first. On 21 June 1916, at a private meeting held at the house of Lady Emily Lutyens, wife of the New Delhi architect, Sir Edward, the Auxiliary League was launched. It was recorded as "the direct outcome of Mrs. Besant's activities."⁴⁵ The first leaflet issued by the League was entitled "What India wants" and it stated that "the Government of India must cease to be foreign and must become Indian."⁴⁶ The aims were declared to be: "to urge the British nation its duty towards India, for the sake of India, for the sake of the United Kingdom, for the sake of the Empire." It planned to "inform the British people of the real condition of things in India, that she may receive just after the war is over." The method to be followed were to be "all forms of constructive, constitutional propaganda."⁴⁷

Major David Graham Pole, a prominent activist of the League, declared, "the object was to get hold of Indians who might become extremists and guide them into constitutional propaganda."⁴⁸ Explaining why it was necessary to establish the Home Rule League, the leaflet laid the blame on the wrong repressive measures of the Government of India which had created discontent and unrest among Indians. The reason given was: "The conspiracies in the north, while much exaggerated, have shown that there is also a feeling of irritation and impatience under the pressure of coercion and they are a danger signal which it would be a folly to ignore. They are not due to anarchism, as is pretended, but to a despair of ever-gaining liberty—the normal liberty of a civilised nation—by constitutional means."⁴⁹

The establishment of the Auxiliary League did not go unnoticed. The *Times* wrote of Annie Besant's new work: "Cranky people in this country do many mad things, but surely the maddest is to encourage a 'Home Rule' agitation in India at a moment when we are entering upon the gravest crisis of the war."⁵⁰ She envisaged the establishment of Home Rule Leagues in India, as "a light cavalry brigade," fully equipped to lead the attack. She herself assumed the role of the generalissimo in India's war of Independence.

On 3 September 1916, the Leagues were established in India, with the Madras branch as headquarters. Annie Besant herself was elected as President and her two fellow Theosophist comrades, G. S. Arundale and B.P. Wadia, were elected Organising Secretary and Treasurer respectively.⁵¹ Annie Besant at first captured

the Theosophical Society and later converted its organisation and supporters to the cause of Indian Home Rule.

The Home Rule Leagues wanted to secure the liberation of the Indian people not independently of but within the framework of the British Empire. It is interesting to examine as to why her supporters revolted against her leadership in 1918. Why did several of her contemporaries look upon her and her activities with deep suspicion? She had witnessed the traumas and travails of the partition agitation of leaders like A. Ghose, B.G. Tilak etc. She learnt not to fall in a trap herself. Her aim was to outwit the Raj and its repressive laws and still carry on an important work of agitation for Home Rule. She wrote of this later in her internment diary: "My public life unbroken since 1874 was arbitrarily ended...by the use of a war measure, twisted to the purpose of suppressing a political agitation, so constitutionally conducted that not even the sweeping clauses of the Indian Penal Code on sedition could enmesh it, even with the help of the C.I.D."⁵²

The Home Rule movement created during a short period awakening among different sections of Indian society. The report of the Administration of Lord Chelmsford noted that students "identified themselves prominently with political meetings and upon their high ideals and generous enthusiasm the Home Rule Movement primarily depended."⁵³ A study of the primary sources reveals that her supporters came from other sections of society too. Annie Besant wanted to widen the doors of the Indian National Congress to different sections of Indian society—peasants, labourers etc. Kisan Sabhas were established at various places to bring about improvement in the conditions of the cultivating classes.

A "Monster Memorial" was submitted to E.S. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India. The Memorial supported the Congress-League demands and made some demands relating to agricultural problems of the peasants. These were (1) panchayats to be immediately established in villages to decide civil suits upto Rs. 500 and all non-cognizable criminal cases, (2) Introduction of permanent settlement etc. with full transferable and heritable rights, (3) Enhancement of revenues and rent to be subject to an enactment of the Imperial Council, (4) Curtailment of zamindar's privileges (5) Revisions of the law of ejectment for non-payment of rent.⁵⁴

Siddiqi notes that "the Kisan Sabha Movement from above was thus born at Allahabad, a child of the politics of the Home Rule League."⁵⁵ The CID reported on the Home Rule Kisan Sabha: "This factitious association was coaxed into an unhealthy existence towards the end of 1917 as a partial reply to the assertion that the political leaders of the day were representative only of a microscopic fraction of the population of India. A small group of nationalists in Allahabad proved its progenitors and sponsors."⁵⁶

The Government felt that the Kisan Sabha was not a genuine representative of the Kisan but only an artefact of the Home Rule Leagues.

The Home Rulers sought to extend their base to different groups. While the peasants were mobilised in the north, in the south they sought to organise labour. This was because it was felt that labour was "a potential force which could bring Swaraj to India."⁵⁷ The object was "to get control over the labouring classes, form unions, align them with the unions of foreign countries and then to strike at imperialism."⁵⁸

The Home Rulers took up the cause of the Railway labourers on strike in 1917-18. *Kesari*, *Young India*, *Mahratta*, *Bombay Chronicle* emerged as the spokesmen for the Railwaymen. The Home Rulers organised financial assistance for them and gave them full legal and moral support, which enabled them to stand their ground and win in August 1917 a pay raise. This was a new development of Indian politics—an assertion of the people of their desire to fight for their rights. B.P. Wadia under Mrs. Besant's guidance organised the Madras Labour Union in 1918.⁵⁹

This was the reason for the withdrawal of the Home Rulers from the politics of the National Congress in 1918. They were actually recouping their strength and further broadening their base among organizable sections of the public. She was largely concerned with labour and she had been a labour leader in England before she came to India. She had powerful supporters in the Labour groups in England. She could not mobilise the Indian peasantry as usefully as the labouring men. Her strategy was to gain hold over Labour Unions in India and gain a voice in the Labour Party politics in England as their spokesperson.

She had adopted a method of agitation that was easily acceptable to the vast majority of Indians and Britons. She talked in the idiom of cooperation between India and Britain, of Britain's duty towards India, etc. not because she was a 'white', an 'imperialist' or *Putana* as one of her contemporaries called her, but so that, under the garb of co-existence, she could actually work out a revolution in the minds of men. She conducted all her activities openly and spoke a language that would be understood in England, by the British people and the House of Commons. When she was interned in 1916, Philip Snodem, M.P., informed the Commons in the course of an interpellation of the work she was doing in India: "Is it not the fact that the only reason why Mrs. Besant wanted to go to India was that she wished to advocate constitutional methods in opposition to revolutionary methods which have gained so much ground in India owing to the conduct of the Government of India."⁶⁰

Later, when it suited her strategy, she chose the time to get herself interned, to secure maximum public impact. In this she was able to focus the attention of the people in England, the Government of India at Delhi, and the general populace on the unjustness of the Governor of Madras, Lord Pentland, and the authorities she represented. The feelings of the people towards the government were of fear and distrust and these were exploited and orchestrated by her. By deliberately provoking repressive measures against herself, an old woman, she showed the administration to be immoral. She deliberately defied the authority of the government by refusing to consider the request of the Governor to give up agitation, because she knew the powerlessness of the officials in such cases. **"You have all the power and I am helpless and you must do what you like. There is just one thing I should like to say to your Excellency, and that is that I believe you are striking the deadliest blow against the British Empire in India."**⁶¹ (emphasis added). Her arrest created the ideal environment for the Home Rule agitation. The effect on Indians was immediate and electric. Bhagwan Das wrote : "It was Annie Besant's internment that first opened my eyes and those of many others to the importance of the political struggle that India had begun. I now realised that without substantial and true self-government no progress was possible in any department of life."⁶² Men, women labour and peasants groups were mobilised by the Home Rulers during the agitation.

Annie Besant was a modern politician irrespective of her ideological inclinations or religion. As a perceptive politician, she was aware of the potentialities of the political situation in India. When the time came, she shed the outer cover of Theosophy and showed her true colours : "Now and again in the history of nations, a great opportunity is offered by Providence that rules the world and as that opportunity is grasped or missed, so is the upward or downward path followed by nation or the individual concerned."⁶³

When no Indian leader came forward to the bugle call to lead the national struggle then she put forth her own claim : "To be chosen to bear the standard is the good karma which grows out of a life that was never shrunk from sacrifice for Freedom's sake... Turned out of my home because I would not pretend to believe in Christianity which I had rejected; winning my way on press and platform as a soldier of political liberty; fighting beside Charles Bradlaugh for the right to free speech and free thought and for the right to Free Discussion on social matters; fighting beside him for right to the seat...fighting for decent life for the 'nautch' girls, for the dockers, for the unskilled and the helpless...fighting against the treatment of India, the invasion on Afghanistan, the theft of Egypt; for Ireland...for internationalism and socialism in France, in Holland, in Britain."⁶⁴ She claimed the right to lead the Home Rule Movement because she was specially chosen by destiny. "Materialised Mystic", as I am, I believe that God has given me this glorious struggle for India for the last of this life's efforts."

As she had advertised her credentials herself she had friends and supporters among the Radicals, Fabian Socialists, Social Democrats, Theosophists and Labour leaders like George Lansbury, Ramsay Macdonald, Lord Haldane etc. She owned a newspaper the **Labour Herald** edited by George Lansbury and had good relations with prominent people in the sphere of journalism and literature, like George Bernard Shaw, her one-time protege. It was on the basis of her support in England that she had calculated to launch her agitation in India. It was for this reason that Indians followed her.

Explaining her strategy as the President of the Indian National Congress in 1917 she said : "Only once in my life can I take this Congress chair... The duty of the leader is to lead. A general should see further than his officers and his army and cannot explain while battles are going on every move in the campaign."⁶⁵ She herself master-minded the manoeuvres of the Home Rule League campaign during 1914-1918. In a signed editorial she stated her plan of action : "When on my return from England in July 1914— after carrying on a vigorous campaign in favour of justice to India— I bought the **Madras Standard**, I had one definite object in view: to press forward the preparation for the coming changes in India and to claim steadily India's place in the Empire. For this reason I renamed the paper **New India**."⁶⁶ Her peaceful press propaganda was carried on through this newspaper. "Looking over the political field, I saw that it was of the first necessity that the Congress should once more arouse public enthusiasm and that its divided ranks should be united; hence I planned a long series of articles from all points of view and thus caused a strong revival of interest, and a wish for the United Congress."⁶⁷ This unity of the Hindus and Muslims, Moderates and Extremists came about at Lucknow Congress in 1916. The British had to be shown that the Indians had a scheme of their own for self-government for which educative press propaganda was carried on by Mrs. Annie Besant and resulted in the "Memorandum of the Nineteen" being formulated by the Indian leaders. Thus **New India** through its activities spread the idea of Home Rule. This is how she "brought it within the sphere of practical politics."

Annie Besant's style of journalism talked of cooperation but created a revolution in the minds of men. Her strategy was to talk of cooperation and not sedition so that she could capture the influential sections of Moderate Indians to the cause of her agitation. "From my standpoint, Home Rule was essential to the maintenance of the Empire. I should indeed be guilty of sedition, if for cowardly fear of further punishment at the hands of government, I shrank from urging the change which alone can prevent the disruption of the Empire. Loyalty to the crown enforces on me the duty of serving it."⁶⁸ She tried to show that the government was not fulfilling its obligations towards the people, the myth of the **ma-baap** of the **Raj** was thus challenged, more so at a time when they were not strong but weak

and needed help in terms of men and money from an impoverished India. She tried to show to the Indians and prove to them that their protest was right. **When she deliberately acted in defiance of the British government**, it was to make it more responsive to the people so that they could be weaned away from wanting to overthrow it violently.

She was very sure of her tactics. "If the government are determined to crush the paper and myself because I carry on a perfectly legitimate agitation, they have the power to gain a momentary victory, but history will judge them."⁶⁹ Any repressive action that the government of India took was judged immediately by the House of Commons and the people of India. Questions were asked by the supporters of Annie Besant and efforts made to get her released by George Lansbury and the other activists in England. Once she was released she could show to the people of India how one could defy the government, yet remain unharmed and defy again. She became the President of the Congress in 1917, which she intended to use as a springboard to land into the international scene. Resolution No XIX was indicative of this strategy: "that this Congress requests Joseph Baptista and H.S.L. Polak, both now in England, to convey to the Labour Party in annual session assembled, its cordial welcome of their professed help in obtaining the passage through Parliament of a Statute embodying the grant of responsible government to India."⁷⁰

With this aim in her mind she withdrew from Congress politics and helped organise labour unions in Madras. In 1917, the Nottingham Labour Conference passed a resolution adopting the cause of Home Rule for India as a part of Labour Party agenda. During 1918 and upto her death on September 20, 1933, at the age of 82 years, she remained a force to reckon with in India. In 1918 she was offered a ticket to fight for Parliament by the Labour Party. This was a recognition of her work as a Labour leader.

It is a mystery to both contemporaries as well as later observers as to why Annie Besant took to politics in India. As a political activist she had a very specific goal that did not become evident to her contemporaries immediately. She wanted to secure or rather regain her place in the political firmament in Britain—a place she had dreamt of as a young woman, during her apprenticeship with Charles Bradlaugh.⁷¹

In the 1890s, for various reasons that she herself had not cared to explain, she left the company of the Fabian Socialists, Social Democrats and Socialist International to join the Theosophical Society.

She maintained a very mysterious silence regarding this shift. She wrote her autobiography in 1893⁷² after she had become a Theosophist but did not care to complete her Indian phase in another volume. She edited several papers, journals, wrote pamphlets and books but did not write of the reasons for leaving Socialist politics. She herself never admitted the reason but we can infer from contemporary sources that she was greatly valued as a political activist, but only when others thought it necessary for their purposes. This did not enthuse her and she joined the Theosophical Society to have an organisation of her own. Under her command it served whatever purposes she wanted it to—social, religious and political. Engels admired her greatly and she was in great demand by the Social Democratic Federation of H.M. Hyndman too.⁷³ But even as a Theosophist she did not give up her labour work. She attended the great labour congress held at Paris from 15 July with Herbert Burrows in 1890.⁷⁴ She mixed both “the School Board work with vigorous Socialist work, and the continual championing of struggling labour movements. Prominent here being the organisation of the South London workers into a union, and the aiding of the movement for shortening the hours of tram and bus men, the meetings for which had to be held after midnight. The feeding and clothing of children .. in my district...(who were) desperately poor.”⁷⁵

She wrote a pamphlet “Why I became a Theosophist” but few of her contemporaries were convinced. George Bernard Shaw wrote of her clear, calculated, conscious move towards Theosophy. He thought he was “much staggered by this unprepared blow, which meant to me the loss of a powerful colleague and of a friendship which had become part of my daily life . . . This time I met my match . . . She had after many explorations found her path and come to see the universe and herself in their real perspective.”⁷⁶

She had actually joined the Society after great deliberation. She met Madame Blavatsky and felt that this meeting “conveyed no ideas to her.”⁷⁷ After some consideration she “once again went and asked about the Theosophical Society, wishful to join, but fighting against it. For I saw, distinct and clear—with painful distinctness indeed—what that joining would mean.”⁷⁸ She weighed the pros and cons and decided in favour of adopting an organisation that she could convert to her purposes. “The struggle was sharp and keen, but with none of the anguish of old days; for the soldier had now fought many battles and was hardened by many wounds.”⁷⁹ On 10 May 1889, she applied for and secured the membership of the Theosophical Society.

Her coming to India was providential for the Indian National Movement. In India, she had a large constituency, no rivals upto 1918, and great influence. Her influence was proved by the fact that she conquered the National Congress, became its representative voice as President despite heavy odds and a member of the Labour

Party after the first World War. The years 1925-26 were the culmination of her life's agitation and politics, for under the guidance of George Lansbury M.P., the Commonwealth of India Bill was piloted through the House of Commons for its first reading.

A study of Annie Besant's Home Rule League Movement in isolation is not meaningful. It makes sense only when seen in the larger perspective of growing meaningful voice for her constituency, namely India. She had not been very successful in influencing socialist thinking. She could only become influential in Labour Party circles if she became representative of a sufficiently large and significant constituency, whether at home or in the colonies. She consciously chose the latter because India represented a field of activity hitherto unexplored by British Socialists and Radicals. Here she could use the skills that she had developed as an activist in England to maximum advantage without incurring the wrath of the government. It is in the light of these calculations that the myths about Mrs. Besant become irrelevant and also her contribution to the growth of Nationalism in this country can be seen in its proper perspective.

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 "While we were mostly busy and grave, we would make holiday sometimes ... bright memories of our wanderingsand in those days he would talk of all his hopes for the future, of his work, of his duty to the thousands who looked to him for guidance, of the time when he would sit in Parliament as a member for Northampton, and help to pass into laws the projects of reform for which he was battling with pen and tongue he was yet an Englishman to the hearts core, but feeling above all the Englishman's duty as one of a race that had gripped power and held it to understand the needs of those he ruled, and to do justice willingly, since compulsion to justice there was none.
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Gandhi's Approach Towards the Peasantry : A Theoretical Overview

TRIBIKRAM PRADHAN

At the outset it should be made clear that this paper is not a finished proposition, but rather a working report with a view to arouse discussion to open up new dimensions to the issue at hand in particular and Gandhian Studies in general. To study Gandhi scientifically a host of problems crop up among which the influence of hagiography stands out. Because of his place as the 'father of the nation' and his special appeal to Indian mind, usually the very name Gandhi evokes a kind of deification—a godly man, an apostle of peace and non-violence. But for a true and scientific analysis of Gandhian Study one has to go above this current hagiography and mythology. Here in this paper broadly two themes are taken up : first, Gandhi's approach or approaches towards the peasantry, various attendant agrarian problems etc., and secondly to see peasants' response towards Gandhi; how did the peasantry look upon Gandhi, and why and how did they follow him ? In other words, the whole paper is an humble attempt to see Gandhi from above as well as Gandhi from below so far as peasantry and agrarian questions are concerned.

For a proper understanding of the subject, the economic policy of the Congress in the pre-Gandhian era has to be glanced through.¹ The Indian National Congress did not lay so much stress on the need for relief for our peasants during this phase as it did on the needs of Indian industrialists such as tariff protection etc.² Especially, the Indian National Congress on the whole avoided reference to the mass of the tenants living under the Zamindars, Landlords and other feudal elements who had developed vested interest in the agrarian relations during the British period.³ The extent to which the problems of the tenantry were ignored by the National leadership may be gauged from the fact that the Indian National Congress had virtually nothing to say about them during this period. But some of the leaders like R.C. Dutt, Ranade, G.V. Joshi etc. were coming to grips with the economic reality facing the country and hence could not shut their eyes to these problems.⁴ The inaction and neutrality of the Congress in the early years to the basic socio-economic issues affecting the masses, particularly on the agrarian front, can be explained in two different ways : first, the leadership of the Indian national movement was concerned with the so-called economic development of the country as a whole rather than the economic betterment of exploited peasantry. With the genuine conviction that British colonial rule

was draining India of her resources and was mainly responsible for the country's poverty and backwardness, the leadership gave top priority to ending that exploitation rather than taking up any class demands, which would have weakened the national movement. Secondly, it is made out that the worst sufferers of British tariff and protectionist trade policy were the Indian capitalist class and traders. Since the landed classes—Zamindars, Landlords and Taluqdars were allied with the British, the Indian capitalist class acted in alliance with the professional classes, intelligentsia and urban middle classes, all of whom were predominant in the Indian National Congress between 1885 and 1920. Since it were these classes which determined the economic outlook of the Indian national movement, coupled with the social inhibition of the pre-Gandhian phase regarding peasant involvement in the movement, the neglect of agrarian issues and problems was inherent in the nature of Indian politics of the time.⁵ It was precisely for the above that Curzon passed a taunt in the shape of a challenge to Romesh Chander Dutt that it was Government which had done more to protect the tenants from the rapacity of the Zamindars than the Congress.⁶

It was the emergence of Gandhi and the evolution of Gandhian Nationalism which appealed to different sections of Indian Society in different ways to bring them together under the Umbrella of the Congress into a mass anti-imperialist movement. But particularly the leadership of the Indian National movement desired peasantry's integration with the national movement in order to strengthen the striking capacity of the anti-imperialist forces. Stung by the taunt of representing merely the microscopic minority of educated few—the babus—and more or less ignored by the colonial authorities, it embarked on the course of wider social mobilization to put sufficient pressure on the colonial rulers to meet its constantly rising demands.⁷ This is apparent from Gandhi's observation in 1916: "Our Salvation can alone come through the farmers. Neither the lawyers, nor the doctors, nor the rich landlords are going to achieve it."⁸ Again in January 1921 Gandhi told the merchants of Calcutta: "Swaraj depends on the agriculturists. If they don't help, then Swaraj cannot be attained. If they co-operate with the Government then all your virtues will not help in winning Swaraj."⁹ Thus Gandhi wanted to cross the social inhibition of the Moderates as well as the Extremists regarding the involvement of masses in evolving anti-imperialist front.

With the emergence of multi-class mass movement Gandhian Nationalism required a bridge over various class barriers and thus Gandhi always emphasised on unifying issues and tried to cut-across or reconcile class divisions. Gandhi was never a spokesman for a clearly definable group with a particular task to perform.¹⁰ And thus there is no clear and articulate policy laid down by Gandhi towards the peasantry. Here, when we analyse Gandhi's approach towards the peasantry, a certain amount of vagueness and confusion is inevitable. This vagueness

and confusion is to an extent institutionalised in Gandhian Nationalism so far as its relationship with the peasantry and the agrarian questions are concerned. Two paradoxical aspects of Gandhi stand out in this respect : first, it was Gandhi who first saw the problem of Indian Nationalism and social reconstruction in a 'Non-elitist perspective' and realised that no anti-imperialist struggle would possibly succeed in India without the involvement of millions of village folks and peasants. He, therefore, devised a programme for mobilizing the rural masses and draw them into the mainstream of Indian Nationalist movement.¹¹ For the peasants—always given theoretical primacy by the Mahatma—the Gandhian programme of village reconstruction through self help envisaged an economic revival through the spinning wheel and handwoven clothes, panchayats or arbitration courts, national schools, campaigns for Hindu-Muslim unity and against the evils of liquor and untouchability.¹²

On the other hand, the second aspect was that Gandhi avoided committing himself to any categorical and concrete objective of socio-economic reconstruction. "In its eagerness to slur over the tensions within Indian Society nationalist economic theory kept largely silent over exploitation by Indian landlords, moneylenders, traders and industrialists and hence had relatively little to offer in concrete form to the subaltern groups....."¹³

It needs an indepth analysis to unravel the dichotomy mentioned above. Gandhi had to face a stupendous task, while launching his mass movement, in the form of reconciling on the one hand, the primary contradiction of the peasantry in particular and the masses in general against imperialism; and on the other hand, secondary or internal contradiction between the peasantry and the Zamindars and moneylender etc. Now the objective justification for the Indian Nationalist leadership's efforts under Gandhi to integrate the peasantry within itself and with the rest of the nation well brought out by R.P. Dutt and A.R. Desai was that the peasantry's primary contradiction during this period lay with imperialism.¹⁴ Hence, Gandhi utilized the peasants' mass strength in the anti-imperialist movement and thus placed the peasants at the command of the Nationalist leadership. It represented to a certain extent the anti-colonial interest of the peasantry. "Starting with Dadabhai Naoroji, Justice Ranade and ending with Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, the nationalist leadership tried to grasp and explain rural poverty with reference to colonialism in the context of anti-imperialist struggle..."¹⁵ Now this effort succeeded in launching anti-imperialist mass movement, though 'the alliance between the peasantry and the Indian bourgeoisie that Gandhi established was inherently weak and likely to be ruptured in a violent form whenever the rural masses were disillusioned.'¹⁶

Now in keeping with the particular character of the movement and its over-weening enthusiasm for united anti-imperialist movement, the internal contradictions

of the peasantry with the Zamindars and Landlords were either suppressed or ignored with serious consequences. The agrarian policy of the Congress was centred on the interests of the rich peasants and the landlords who were primarily concerned with the reduction of land revenue, but never with the reduction of exorbitant rent which was pushing the peasantry successively down.¹⁷ Ignoring the basic features of colonial agrarian structure, the national leadership on the whole sought to curb the anti-landlord struggle. Its dominant sections were opposed to anti-landlord ideology, politics and agitations. They opposed all anti-landlord activities of the peasantry in the name of non-violence and the Unity of the anti-imperialist struggle. All independent mobilization of the peasantry was opposed and when such mobilizations were part of the broader national mobilization against imperialism, it was favoured. Thus Gandhi advised the agitating peasants of U.P. in February 1921 : "You should bear a little if the Zamindar torments you. We don't want to fight with the Zamindars... Zamindars are also slaves and we don't want to trouble them."¹⁸ Again, while, defining his relationship with the Kisan movement Gandhi wrote, "the Kisan movement has received an impetus from non-cooperation, but it is anterior to and independent of it, whilst we will not hesitate to advise the Kisans when the moment comes to suspend payment of taxes to the Government, it is not contemplated at any stage of non-cooperation, we would seek to deprive the Zamindars of their rents. The Kisan Movements must be confined to the improvement of status of the Kisans and the betterment of relations with the Zamindars."¹⁹

The Congress working committee Resolution, popularly known as the Bardoli decision, suspending the non-cooperation movement in 1922, following the Chauri Chaura (where angry peasants in U.P. had burnt down a village police station killing 22 policemen) shows in amply clear terms the politics behind the controlled mass movement. 'The resolution shows that it was not an abstract question of non-violence which actuated the movers. It is noted that no less than three clauses deal specifically, emphatically and even urgently with the necessity of payment of rent by the peasants, to the landlord or government.'²⁰ There is here no question of violence or non-violence there is simply a question of class interests of exploiter and exploited. The non-payment of rent could not be suggested by anyone to be violent action. Why, then should a resolution normally condemning violence concentrate so emphatically on the question of non-payment of rent and the legal rights of landlords? There is one answer, says R.P. Dutt, "The phraseology of non-violence is revealed as only in reality a cover conscious or unconscious, for class interests and the maintenance of class exploitation."²¹ The dominant leadership of the Congress associated with Gandhi called off the movement because they were afraid of the awakening of the mass activity because it was beginning to threaten those propertied class interests with which they were infact closely linked.²² Gandhi was always ready to launch and lead a 'controlled mass movement' and whenever it tended to get out of his control, he never hesitated to apply the brake in his hand.

Thus the Congress leadership under Gandhi concentrated almost exclusively, with the exceptions of U.P. in 1920-22 and 1930-32 to some extent, on mobilizing peasantry around anti-imperialist demands of lowering the crushing burden of land revenue and other taxes like salt tax, and on such other issues like 'harmony between Zamindars and tenants' etc. Even the famous Eleven points of Gandhi in 1930 did not contain a single peasant demand.²³ The two demands in the charter which make a mockery of peasant grievances were like the 50% reduction of land-revenue and abolition of salt tax. At the height of world depression, when Indian peasantry was sinking under the burden of rent, usury and land revenue, Gandhi sought to mobilize the peasants on the question of salt tax, because this alone could unite the peasants from the ryotwari as well as Zamindari area without simultaneously affecting the Zamindars.²⁴

Now to see Gandhi's approach towards the peasantry from an objective point of view at this stage it is true that anti-feudal revolution with a slogan of 'land to the tiller' was not expected of the national leadership. This would have obviously thrown the landlords, big as well as small, into the lap of imperialism. It was not only difficult for an all class nationalist front to do so, but, in view of the strength of British imperialism before 1939, it would perhaps have been short term tactics and therefore politically shortsighted. The need to unite and mobilise varied interests and diverse classes and social strata into a wide national front and to neutralise those who could not be so united, might indicate a policy of compromise between internally antagonistic classes, the under-playing of their mutual contradictions and the balancing of their conflicting interests. But the balancing of conflicting interests precisely means both sides making sacrifices and providing accommodation. Not only the abolition of landlordism was not demanded, the other genuine peasants' grievances against rack renting, eviction, forced labour, security of tenures and fair wages for labour were totally ignored. Bipan Chandra says, "If it was not possible to go as far as the communists, why not go at least as far as Jawaharlal Nehru?"²⁵ Even in 1930-32 Jawaharlal Nehru and other left Congressmen fought not for no rent but fair and just rent. Certainly it should have been possible under Gandhi for any social compromise to accommodate most of the immediate demands of the peasantry.

Yet precisely this was not done. In the name of national unity against imperialism, the peasants' interests were more or less completely sacrificed. National integration was promoted at the peasants' unilateral cost.²⁶ The National Congress under Gandhi's leadership failed to evolve a broadbased agrarian programme. All the three major movements launched by Gandhi started without any such programme. Gandhi and the national leadership offered to the peasantry at the most a few mild ameliorative 'self help measures' in the name of constructive programme.²⁷ They placed almost their entire emphasis on Swaraj and vague talk of agrarian change.

Now coming to the second part of the paper it seems necessary to identify the classes on the agrarian scene which benefited from Gandhian Nationalism, as also from his cherished ideal of peace and non-violence and controlled mass movement. But it will be repetitive at this stage after the above analysis on the class character of Gandhian Nationalism and his approach. Again the wide regional variations coupled with other attendant issues, to which reference has been made while discussing Gandhian rural base later on, make such a task rather difficult. Nevertheless, it can be argued that from a study of Champaran, Kheda, U.P. peasant movements, Bardoli Satyagraha etc., it is clear that the rich peasant, the patidars, and the better off section of the peasantry seem to have taken most of the advantages and generally the subaltern groups could not get tangible benefit which they expected.

But far more significant and consequential are the questions as to why the peasantry followed Gandhi, when his policy benefitted the capitalists, landlords and the better offs. How did the peasantry look upon Gandhi and what was their response? This aspect needs an indepth research into which of late researchers with the perspective of 'history from below' are looking and there is yet to be produced an upto date research work on this.²⁸ Hence there is scope for lively discussion on this area. It of course goes without saying that there was no clear understanding of Gandhi's approaches towards the agrarian questions by the peasantry because of a certain amount of befogging. Gandhi acquired the reputation of a man who would take up local wrongs (Champaran peasants, Ahmedabad millhands and Kheda peasants) and usually manage to do something concrete about them—a political style in sharp contrast to the established Congress pattern of starting with somewhat abstract all India issues or programmes and proceeding from top downwards.²⁹ Particularly after Champaran Gandhi acquired the image of 'a Liberator of the peasants' or 'the messiah who could ameliorate the peasants' lot.' After Champaran, Gandhi had tremendous millenarian appeal among the uneducated masses of peasantry. The Bettiah SDO reported on 29 April 1914 that 'Gandhi is daily transfiguring the imaginations of the masses of ignorant men with the vision of an early millenium.'³⁰ A raiyat compared Gandhi to Rama, and declared before the Enquiry Committee that the tenants would not fear the Rakshasa-planters now that Gandhi was there. Rumours spread that Gandhi had been sent by the Viceroy of the king to overrule all local officials and and planters and even that the British would leave Champaran soon.³¹ The idea of Gandhi Raj was getting wide currency and had a magic touch around it in awakening the masses. A CID report on the Kisan movement in Allahabad district in January 1921 makes the point vividly clear. "The currency which Gandhi name has acquired even in the remotest villages is astonishing. No one seems to know quite who or what he is, but it is an accepted fact that what he says is so, and what he orders must

be done.... The real power of his name is perhaps to be traced back to the idea that it was he who got bedakhli stopped in Pratapgarh...as the general rule, Gandhi is not thought of as being antagonistic to Government, but only to the zamindars."³² And it was the 'peasant image of Gandhi' and the 'slogan of Gandhi Raj', wherein we see a clearly millenarian appeal, fed by local press and rumour, which seem to have played a significant role in formulating peasants' image and response towards Gandhi. To the above may be added the active plodding of the 'sub-contractors' which Judith Brown discusses at length.³³ Above all, the fact that Gandhi was simple and saintly in his personal conduct, which has a striking appeal to Indian mind, went a long way in identifying Gandhi with the millions of downtrodden who deify him.

Now, without going deep into the issue of Gandhian rural base and its specific nature, which will be a separate study of its own, here I attempt to lay down some general observations on it. To begin with, the specific nature of Gandhian rural base is a formidable problem. Categorization of the kind of peasants which responded most to Gandhi is rendered difficult both by great regional variations, as well as by the well-known complexities of applying theoretical scheme of peasant stratification to data which is incomplete and arranged according to quite different principles.³⁴ Nevertheless, the following general observations go a long way to explain Gandhian rural base. First, Gandhian peasant movements seem to have been more effective where the rural scene was not too sharply polarised; and where there existed a fairly broad stratum of small land holders preferably more or less homogenous in caste composition. Good examples would be the Patidars of Kheda and Bardoli, the Mahishyas of Tamruk and Contai; the Jat peasantry of districts like Meerut during civil disobedience. Secondly, though there were Gandhian bases occasionally in very backward pockets like Azamgarh, most of the strongholds tended to be in regions marked not by maximum impoverishment but by a threat to relative prosperity or social and economic advances. (This applies to Kheda, Rae Bareilly etc.). And finally it may be argued that irrespective of the precise social composition of the movement in particular areas, the general thrust, ideology, and style of Gandhian Nationalism was geared objectively to the interests of landholding intermediate caste peasant proprietors and not to the subordinate stratum of tribal or low caste agricultural labour, sharecroppers and poorest peasants.³⁵

It is pertinent to ask in the end whether Gandhi's approach towards the peasantry remained the same till his end? There are certain indications that Gandhi's attitude towards the agrarian questions was showing signs of change in the last phase of his life. On June 9, 1942 he told Louis Fischer in answer to his questions: "What is your programme for the improvement of the lot of the peasantry?" "Will the peasants take the land?" "We would not have to tell them to take it, they would take it." And when Fischer asked would the landlords be compensated, he replied, "No, that would be fiscally impossible."³⁶

Similarly he told Mirabehan in jail that after independence "Zamindars' land would be taken up by the State either through their voluntary surrender or through legislation, and distributed to the cultivators."³⁷ By 1946 he even acknowledged that there had been always class struggle in history and that it would be ended if the capitalists voluntarily renounced their social role and became workers. After all, he said, capital is really created by the labour and not by the capitalists.³⁸

But these intellectual and ideological developments came too late to affect the national leadership, the vested interests had come to have firm grip over the situation and Gandhi was fading away. For Gandhi himself his understanding was quite peculiar and outside the framework of his overall thought to lead to any meaningful political activity. It was more an expression of his integrity and constant search to grasp the reality. "For what could be more tragic than that this great and moral man had created a framework of politics and set a pillar of leadership which had no place for his own honest doubts."³⁹ And if in the end India did win freedom basically under Gandhi's leadership, it must not be forgotten that the freedom left the Mahatma himself a perplexed, isolated and unhappy man: for a growing chasm separated his ideals of ahimsa, communal amity, Harijan upliftment and peasant Ram-rajaya from the realities of 1947 and of post-independence India in general.

In conclusion it can be pointed out that the Indian National Congress as a mass political organization with its loud claim as a peasant organization took its full configuration under Gandhi. But contrary to all declared fanfare of changes or basic transformations following Gandhi's emergence and evolution of Gandhian Nationalism, especially in its policy/relationship towards the peasants and various agrarian issues, there was virtually no change in the basic ideological frame of the Indian National Congress and the broad nationalist movement. The role of the peasantry in Gandhi's United anti imperialist front was that of a mere constituent to increase the striking capacity of the movement.

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Neki Ram Sharma As A Freedom Fighter

M.M. JUNEJA

In the freedom struggle the national scene was occupied by a galaxy of leaders. Pandit Neki Ram Sharma emerged as one of those leaders who played a laudable role. He was born on 7 September 1887 at Kelanga village in Rohtak district of Haryana which was then one of the most backward regions of India. His father, Pandit Hari Prasad, was a **brahman** of Mishra sub-caste. Neki Ram received his early education from his grand-father, Pandit Prithvi Raj, who was a scholar of Sanskrit. For higher education he joined the Victoria Pathshala, Sitapur (U.P.) and then the Queen's College, Kashi.¹ In 1907 he was married. Later he was blessed with one son and four daughters.²

The trial and deportation of Bal Gangadhar Tilak was one of the major factors which gave a turning point to the future course of young Neki Ram. Tilak was arrested on 23 June 1908 on the charge of publishing seditious articles in his paper Kesari, and he was sentenced, on 22 July 1908, to six years' transportation and fined one thousand rupees. On hearing the sad news, Neki Ram felt shocked, observed one day fast to pay homage to the great leader; he was deeply inspired by the Tilak's example; and, henceforth became a pronounced Tilakite.³

On 28 April 1916 the Home Rule League was founded by Tilak. By the beginning of 1917 the Home Rule League had substantially attracted the Extremists and the youths. In February 1917 Neki Ram reached Bombay where Tilak had already started the Home Rule League's propaganda. At Bombay Mahatma Gandhi organised a public meeting on 9 February 1917 in support of the Indians, living in South Africa. Apart from Gandhi and Tilak, the meeting was also addressed by Neki Ram. While speaking from its forum, Neki Ram waxed so sentimental that Tilak, apart from others, was moved into tears. Neki Ram joined the Home Rule League, and began to work energetically for propagating its cause⁴. The Home Rule agitation reached its highest watermark in July, August 1917. On 24 November 1917 Tilak reached Delhi where he was accorded a grand reception by the people. As Tilak had been prohibited from making a public speech, it was Neki Ram who addressed the audience on Tilak's behalf.⁵

Gentlemen, Tilak **Maharaj** wishes to thank you all for your reception of him. He is prohibited from addressing you himself by a government order.

He wishes you to understand that he will not stop his labour until the Swaraj is an established fact. You, who have drunk the water of the Ganges and the Yamuna, who have been born and nourished in this country, should not rest until the Swaraj is obtained. When the Swaraj is obtained, foreigners will bow before you. Disperse to your homes, carry in your minds what I have said and continue to strive for the Home Rule.

In March 1918 Neki Ram addressed a Home Rule meeting at Etawah (UP). It was presided over by the Raja of Pratapner, Hukam Tej Pratap Singh, and attended by many including Jawahar Lal Nehru, an active Home Ruler. In his address Neki Ram vehemently condemned the Government, and consequently the Raja had to tender a written apology to the local authorities⁶. At Etawah Neki Ram and Nehru came into personal contact for the first time, and the latter was highly impressed by the eloquent and moving speech of Neki Ram.

The fiery public speeches, frequently made by Neki Ram, produced a good deal of alarm for the authorities. In order to curb his activities, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, Malcolm Hailey, under the Defence of India Rules, placed restrictions on Neki Ram in early June 1918. Regarding Neki Ram a volcanic personality, Mr. Hailey prohibited him from making public speeches till further order⁷. But the dauntless Neki Ram addressed a meeting on 24 June 1918 at the Lakshmi Narayan Dharamshala, Delhi, for which he was subsequently prosecuted. Immediately after the said meeting, Neki Ram proceeded from Delhi to Poona to meet Tilak. He wanted to take Tilak to North India for securing maximum involvement of the people of this region in the Home Rule movement. But on his arrival at Poona, Neki Ram was informed by Tilak that his warrant of arrest had been issued by a court of Delhi. Tilak suggested Neki Ram to get himself arrested at Poona, but the latter turned down the suggestion saying: "My arrest at Poona may cause a police raid on your house which I don't want."⁸ So, Neki Ram returned to Delhi, and was arrested (in the beginning of July 1918) alongwith Asaf Ali, another prominent Home Rule Leaguer of Delhi. Attacking the undemocratic attitude of the Government, Mrs. Annie Besant, the President of the All-India Home Rule League, stated :⁹

In Delhi Messrs Neki Ram and Asaf Ali are the objects of attack. Delhi, like the Punjab, is chafed under the reign of terror. Sir Michel O'Dwyer and Commissioner Malcolm Hailey are fit yoke-fellows. Their names would go down in history with the enemies of India. They eat the salt of India, they trample her right underfoot.

To help the under-trial, Neki Ram, Tilak sent D. D. Davar, Bar-at-Law and a leading Bombay-based lawyer, to Delhi to plead his case. However, Neki Ram was acquitted in August 1918 by Justice Spence, the Additional District Magistrate.

While delivering his judgement, the magistrate ruled that the meeting, held on 24 June 1918 at the Lakshmi Narayan Dharamshala (Delhi) and addressed by Neki Ram, was limited only to the members of the Home Rule League, and as such it could not be characterised as a public meeting.¹⁰ But the executive authorities were determined to get Neki Ram imprisoned, and they were, therefore, unhappy with the judgement. The authorities now decided to harass the judge, who had delivered the judgement in favour of Neki Ram. Consequently, the judge, Mr. Spence, was not only demoted as the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, but was also transferred to a remote area of Kaithal in Haryana¹¹. Although, Neki Ram had been acquitted in August 1918, yet the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, Mr. Hailey, did not withdraw his prohibiting orders, imposed on Neki Ram from making public speeches, till August 1919.¹²

Neki Ram's place among the Home Rulers may be gauged from the fact that he was looked upon as one of the most dangerous Home Rulers by the British authorities. They realised if such a popular leader of great capacity was won over, he could render invaluable services to the British by promoting war-efforts. So, the Deputy Commissioner of Rohtak called Neki Ram in 1918, and asked for his active support in getting the recruits for the Army. While turning down the proposal, Neki Ram bluntly remarked, "You seek my support to promote the cause of your Army. Perhaps, you are not aware of the fact that my effort, instead, is to take the whole Army with me." The Deputy Commissioner further questioned, "Fanditji, how much property do you possess?" "A little one", came the reply. The Deputy Commissioner, thereupon, said, "I can arrange for you twenty-five **murrabas** of fertile land, provided you agree to support the government." Sharply reacting to the words, Neki Ram stated:¹³

You want to purchase me, it means, by giving simply a small piece of land of only twenty-five **murrabas**. But, you must know that the whole land of this country does belong to me. And I am sure that the day is not far away when you the British, who have occupied it by force, would be dislodged from the soil of India.

Neki Ram thus could neither be cowed down by any force nor could he be won over by any temptation. He is verily one of the top ranking Home Rule Leaguers. He, obviously, occupies a place only next to those of Tilak and Annie Besant.

The non-co-operation movement was started on 1 August 1920 and Neki Ram came forward supporting it wholeheartedly. He felt that to secure the maximum support from the people of his region, it was necessary that they must be touched by the magical presence of Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders. So, he approached Gandhi who, accompanied by Maulana Mohamad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Swami Satyadev and Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, reached

Bhiwani on 22 October 1920 to address the Ambala Divisional Conference¹⁴. More than 60,000 people from neighbouring districts of Haryana and Rajasthan could be seen swarming at Bhiwani to have the **darshan** of the **Mahatma**. It was verily the proudest day in the history of Haryana in general and Bhiwani in particular. Because of Neki Ram's zealous participation in the Non-co-operation movement, Bhiwani was once again visited by Gandhi and other leaders including Lala Lajpat Rai, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Lala Pyare Lal on 15 February 1921 to address the Haryana Rural conference. The arrangements made at Bhiwani Conferences by its organizers, led by Neki Ram, were highly appreciated by Gandhi. What impressed him most was the conspicuous absence of any chair. He considered this an exemplary arrangement, and expressed his desire that in future this example should be followed:¹⁵

Let Bhiwani present a lesson to the approaching Congress. The Reception Committee will save a few thousand rupees and much space if they will dispense with chairs whether on the platform or below. It is cruel to impose chairs on the many, because the few seem to want them.

Furthermore, the Bhiwani conferences were organised by Neki Ram and his associates so impressively in the **swadeshi** style that Gandhi regarded the arrangement as model for the forthcoming session of the Congress to be held at Ahmedabad in December 1921. The most noteworthy feature of the Ahmedabad Congress was the absence of chairs and benches for delegates which had cost the Nagpur Congress, held in December 1920, seventy thousand rupees.¹⁶ Apart from it, the Ahmedabad Congress, as desired by Gandhi, followed the **swadeshi** pattern established by the Bhiwani Conferences. Since 1921 the use of chairs in the Congress sessions thus became a thing of the past. Indeed, it was Neki Ram, the chief organiser of the Bhiwani Conferences, who gave this brilliant idea to the Congress, however, through Gandhi.

On the eve of the Prince of Wales' visit to Bombay in November 1921, Neki Ram was prominently associated with the programme of hartal, launched by the Congress to foil the preparations for the reception of the royal guest. To make the move effective, Gandhi invited Neki Ram to Bombay. A week before the arrival of the Prince, Neki Ram and Sarojini Naidu addressed several public gatherings daily in the city which aimed at training people for the impending boycott. The Prince landed at Bombay on 17 November 1921, and the royal procession was cheered by a crowd of Europeans, Eurasians, Parsis and the affluent sections of Bombay. Unfortunately, the swelling mob turned violent and started burning tram-cars, motor-cars, liquor-shops and the Parsi temples. Neki Ram helped the victims of the fray even at the risk of his life. He is reported to have escaped twice the police gun-point.¹⁷

At Bombay Neki Ram came to know about his warrant of arrest, and left for Bhiwani after getting Gandhi's permission. On his arrival at Bhiwani he was arrested

and taken to Lahore for prosecution in the court of Justice Muir Hussain. On 28 November 1921, when the judgement was to be passed on him, the court-room was packed with his sympathisers including Lala Lajpat Rai, Chaudhary Rambhaji Datt, La'a Duni Chand of Lahore and Pandit K. Santhanam. Neki Ram was sentenced to eight months' rigorous imprisonment¹⁸.

When Neki Ram was arrested at Bhiwani he was hand-cuffed on both hands. Throughout his journey from Bhiwani to Lahore he remained hand-cuffed. He took his meal in the court with hand-cuffs on both hands. During his prosecution he was locked up in a cell of the Central Jail, Lahore, performing certain difficult and manual jobs. Lala Lajpat Rai questioned the ill-treatment meted out to Neki Ram :¹⁹

May we ask if the treatment meted out to Pandit Neki Ram, as an under-trial-prisoner, from the moment of his arrest onwards can show anything, but racial indiscrimination as against the sons of soil ? Would a European of the position of Pandit Neki Ram have been treated similarly ? The Indian member in charge of jails may well be asked if in his opinion Pandit Neki Ram is not as good as an European and entitled to the same treatment in jail as the latter.

Gandhi was also in touch with Neki Ram's prosecution and conviction. On the eve of his conviction, Gandhi paid his tributes to Neki Ram, saying :²⁰

Let us not mind if...pandit Neki Ram is absent from the Congress; what does it matter if he or other fighters like him are not present ? Though he may not be physically present, his soul will be with us, will watch the strength we display and judge us. He will see whether or not we are worthy of his sacrifices. He knows that to be wounded is to prove one's courage, and to prove courage is to win.

Neki Ram had been the Propaganda-Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha and had presided over the second session of the Burma Provincial Hindu Sabha, held at Mandalay on 21-23 January 1928. He was shocked to know that some of the members of the Executive Committee of the Sabha had joined hands with the government in welcoming the Simon Commission, and resigned from the Sabha in the beginning of 1929.²¹

Gandhi launched the Salt-Satyagraha on 6 April 1930. Neki Ram did his best to intensify the **satyagraha**. He addressed several public meetings exhorting the people to support the **satyagraha**. Under his leadership, the people of Bhiwani manufactured contraband salt, the consumers boycotted foreign cloth; the cloth dealers agreed not to import foreign cloth; the commission agents vowed not to sell foreign cloth to their consumers; the people adopted **swadeshi**; thousands of spinning wheels started working for the production of **kharidar**; and several liquor-shops were picketed. Because of his leading participation in the Salt Satyagraha, Neki Ram was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and fined two hundred rupees for breach of the Salt Act.²²

After the Gandhi-Irwin pact Neki Ram was released on 12 March 1931 from the Central Jail, Hisar. He was taken round the town in a grand procession; and a public meeting was held in his honour²³. Neki Ram now resumed his national activities. He addressed numerous rural meetings. Under his supervision the Congress volunteers picketed certain foreign-cloth shops. Under the Picketing Ordinance, Neki Ram was arrested on 19 January 1932. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, and was sent to the Multan Jail.²⁴ But he was released on 30 April 1932, and re-arrested on 29 May 1932. Now, he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment, and was again sent to the Multan Jail.²⁵ It was during this term of imprisonment when the marriage ceremony of his only son, Mohan Krishan Sharma, was performed on 29 January 1933.²⁶ In spite of the official insistence, Neki Ram, being a patriotic father, did not even apply for the parole, and the marriage thus took place as scheduled.

Gandhi started the Individual Satyagraha on 17 October, 1940. Neki Ram, a chosen *satyagrahi* for Bhiwani, appeared on the fore-front in this *satyagraha*, and was arrested on 5 December 1940. He was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.²⁷

Being a member of the All-India Congress Committee, Neki Ram reached Bombay on 7 August 1942 to attend its meeting where the historic decision of the Quit India Movement was to be taken. During the movement serious disturbances broke out all over India. By the end of 1942, over 60,000 men and women were arrested. Neki Ram was arrested at Bhiwani under the Defence of India Rules. He was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment on 15 August 1942.²⁸ In April 1943, when Neki Ram was in the Central Jail, Ambala, he fell seriously ill, and became the permanent victim of paralysis. It was also during this term of imprisonment when the marriage of one of his daughters, Som Kala, took place. What came as a stunning blow to Neki Ram during this imprisonment was the sad demise of his another daughter, Durga Devi.²⁹ The unfortunate father thus could attend neither the marriage of his one daughter nor could he join the funeral of his other daughter.

Neki Ram also devoted himself to the cause of supporting the Indian National Army after the disappearance of Subhash Chandra Bose. In 1945 Neki Ram toured several places of Haryana, along with Jawaharlal Nehru, and collected a sufficient amount of money for the welfare of the INA.³⁰ Ultimately, the cherished goal of independence was achieved on 15 August 1947, but Neki Ram's work did not end up there. He also served the cause of the poor displaced persons. His health had considerably deteriorated as a result of his continuous efforts and exertions. He was not destined to live long, and breathed his last on the mid-night of 7-8 June 1956 at 1-00 a.m.³¹

Through his pen and tongue Neki Ram brought about political awakening among the people of Haryana. There was hardly any movement or agitation, connected with the freedom struggle, in which he did not make his mark as being first and foremost in the whole of Haryana. His leadership galvanised the masses, especially the rural and weaker sections of society, into fresh life and activities. He was indefatigable patriot whose persistent participation in the freedom struggle frequently incurred the wrath of the British authorities. He was sent to jail nine times, and remained behind the bars for nearly 2,200 days—of these he had undergone rigorous imprisonment for about 250 days, grinding grains and performing other difficult jobs. He was in jail when the marriage of his only son and that of a daughter took place, and one of his daughters died. He had gone to jail for the first time as a strong, healthy youngman, but had come out of the jail for the last time as a physically shattered individual. It was mainly due to him that Bhiwani and Rohtak, hitherto obscure towns, appeared on the map of national politics only next in importance to Lahore and Amritsar in the then Punjab.

During the period of 1922 to 1928 Neki Ram diverged from the mainstream while actively joining the Hindu Mahasabha. He, no doubt, disassociated himself from the communal organisation when he had realised that he was on the wrong track. But his image as a national leader was damaged beyond redemption. One can, of course, blame him for this derailment, but, keeping it aside, the fact cannot be denied that Neki Ram's sufferings and sacrifices in the cause of freedom struggle evoke our admiration and regards. Thus, judged by any standard, Neki Ram is one of the outstanding crusaders for the emancipation of his nation from the foreign yoke, and the most popular freedom fighter in this region. He is rightly known as the **Haryana Kesari**, and would, indeed, go down in the history of India's struggle for freedom as the Tilak of Haryana.

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Punjab Hindus and the General Elections of 1936-37 : A Historical Study of their Political Behaviour

YASH PAL BAJAJ

The Government of India Act, 1935, changed the nomenclature of Hindu seats from hitherto non-Muhammadan (Urban, Rural and Landholders) to General (Urban, Rural and Landholders). Scheduled castes among them were also given separate representation through separate-cum-joint electorates. Since women too were conceded the right to elect their representatives, one more Hindu seat was added by the name of General (women). These categories in all made 44 Hindu seats including 8 reserved for the scheduled castes (all rural). To these could be added about 4 more seats which Hindu electors could hope to win out of the joint special seats reserved for Punjab Commerce and Industry, Labour and Panjab University. Thus the total number of Hindu representatives in the Punjab Legislature could go upto 48 out of its total strength of 175. Of these 35, including the one of Landholders (General) were rural and the remaining 13 urban. Table 1 illustrates the point quite lucidly.

TABLE-I¹

Showing the Distribution of Hindu Seats in the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1936.

	Urban	Rural
Women	1	—
General	8	26
Reserved for Scheduled Castes	—	8
Landholders	—	1
Panjab Commerce & Industry	1	—
Out of 3 Labour seats	2	—
Panjab University	1	—
Total	13	35

In terms of percentage, clear seats of Hindus (44) formed 26.2% of the total seats of the Punjab Legislature vis-a-vis their population component of 28.8% in the Punjab. In contrast to it, Muslims got 53% clear seats and Sikhs 19.64% against their population ratios of 56.5% and 13.2% respectively. As regards franchise, 11.75% of the Hindu population got the right to vote. Table II further elucidates these observations.

TABLE-II²

Showing the Urban-Rural Division of Population and Legislative Seats for the whole Punjab and Hindus' Ratio/Share in each category

		Whole Punjab (A)	Hindus (B)	Hindus as % of the whole Punjab i.e. col. A $\times 100$
				Col.B
Population	Total (1)	23533612	6769287	28.8
	Urban (2)	2638380	1005299	38.1
	Rural (3)	20895232	5763988	27.6
Seats in the Punjab Legislative Assembly (P.L.A.)	Total (4)	175*	48	27.43
	Urban (5)	30*	13	30
	Rural (6)	145	35	24.14
Voting strength (Electoate)	Total (7)	2588684	795830	30.74
	Urban (8)	349893	161180	46.7
	Rural (9)	2238791	634650	28.34
Total Electorate as % age of total population i.e.Col.7		11.00	11.75	—
— $\times 100$				
Col.1				
Urban population as % age of total population i.e.		11.2	14.85	—
Col.2				
— $\times 100$				
Col.1				

Urban Electorate as % age of urban population i.e. Col.8 $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{Col.2}} \times 100$	13.12	16.00	—
Urban Seats as %age of the total seats in the P.L.A. i.e. Col.5 $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{Col.4}} \times 100$	16.2	27.1	—
Urban Electorate as %age of the total Electorate i.e. Col.8 $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{Col.7}} \times 100$	13.35	20.253	—
Rural Population as percentage of the total population i.e. Col.3 $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{Col.1}} \times 100$	88.8	85.15	—
Rural Electorate as percentage of the Rural population Col.9 $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{Col.3}} \times 100$	10.864	11.00	—
Rural Seats as percentage of the total seats of the P.L.A. i.e. Col. 6 $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{Col.4}} \times 100$	82.86	72.9	—
Rural Electorate as percentage of the total Electorate i.e. Col. 9 $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{Col.7}} \times 100$	86.65	70.747	—

*Including the two seats reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

A close scrutiny of the above table clearly brings out the reasons of the grouse of the Punjab Hindus against the Communal Award on which subsequently the constitution of 1935 was structured. In the first place, while Hindus formed 28.8 per cent of Punjab population, they could expect to capture at the maximum 27.43 per cent of seats in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Secondly, even though they constituted 38.1 per cent of the urban population of the province and 46.7 per cent of the urban electorate, they could not hope to win more than 30 per cent of the urban seats,

Thirdly, the rural Hindus, who comprised 27.6 per cent of rural population of the Punjab and 28.34 per cent of rural electorate, were given only 24.14 per cent of rural seats. Fourthly, their anguish against their under-representation in each of the above categories was heightened by the fact that their franchise rate in all these categories was higher than that of the entire Punjab. Their overall franchise stood at 11.75 per cent against Punjab's 11 per cent; in the urban population it was 16 per cent against Punjab's 13.1 per cent and in the rural areas it stood at 11 per cent against Punjab's 10.86%. Yet their share of seats was lower than what they were entitled to.

Naturally, they roundly condemned the Communal Award and argued that the Hindus, who were a minority community in the Punjab, should have been given weightage in representation rather than cutting down their due share. In short, they were more agitated against the Communal Award than any other decision of the Government. They were dead set against it and pledged to do everything in their power to get it undone.³ It continued to be a major issue of Punjab politics till the general elections of 1936-37. Even the Indian National Congress was forced to revise its stand. Whereas till the close of 1935 it had held a neutral attitude towards the Award so as not to annoy the Muslim voters who had welcomed it, on 30 May, 1936 the Congress President, Jawaharlal Nehru, categorically declared at the Gujranwala Political Conference that it had caused heart-burning to the Hindus and Sikhs especially in the Punjab.⁴ Three days later, in a press statement at Lahore, he announced that the Congress 'dislikes and rejects the Communal Award.'⁵ The Award also led to the birth of a new political party, the Congress Nationalist Party, and strengthened the Hindu Mahasabha in the Province.

Another important issue which influenced the Punjabi Hindu electors on the eve of 1936-37 general elections was the clash of rural-urban economic interests. In the south-eastern Punjab where they were in majority, the rural Hindus veered under the leadership of Rai Bahadur Chaudhri Chhotu Ram in whose hands they felt their economic interests were secure; and the urbanites supported the Congress.

In the above discussion an important point to be noted is that politically Hindus were organized into four political parties : Hindu Mahasabha, Congress Nationalist Party, Indian National Congress and the Unionist Party. The leader of the Hindu Mahasabha in the Punjab was Dewan Bahadur Raja Narendernath. In its socio-religious composition the leadership of the party was disparate. Some leaders were Arya Samajists, some Santantan Dharamis and some government title-holders. The last category sought and got official patronage and did not wish to come to clash with the government in spite of their humiliation by the alien bureaucracy. It would suffice to

add that its President, Raja Narenderanath, had read Farewell Address on behalf of Punjab Hindus at the function organized at Lahore on 12 May, 1919 to bid farewell to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the man responsible for the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and martial law excesses in the Punjab. His Address highly appreciated O'Dwyer's services to the Punjabi Hindus and added, "We are sorry that foolish and mischievous acts of certain misguided men made the last few days of your Honour's career specially strenuous."⁶ As regards the nature of the political programme of Hindu Mahasabha, it stood for the rights of Hindus and deprecated the allotment of smaller number of seats to Punjab Hindus as provided under the Constitution of 1935.⁷ It demanded more seats for them. To contest the elections of 1937, it organized the Hindu Election Board and put up candidates only for Hindus seats and one labour seat.

The Congress Nationalist Party was organized at the All-India level in mid-1934, with an eye on the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Assembly of India, by those Hindu leaders who differed with the Congress stance of neutrality on the Communal Award.⁸ Thus paradoxically it was a party of communal nationalists. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, its President, set up its Punjab branch, namely, the Punjab Nationalist Party in August, 1934.⁹ Its primary aim was to protect Hindu culture and civilization.¹⁰ As the Indian National Congress started rethinking about its stand on the Communal Award in April 1936, Pandit Krishan Kant Malaviya, M.L.A., visited Lahore and Amritsar with a view to reorganizing the Punjab Nationalist Party and exploring the chances of an electoral settlement with the Congress.¹¹ After Jawaharlal Nehru had made categorical statements against the Communal Award in May-June 1936, the leaders of the Punjab Nationalist Party announced that the new policy of the Congress had brought the two parties nearer to each other.¹² Their further endeavours culminated in a joint meeting of the leaders of the Punjab Congress and the Punjab Nationalist Party at Lahore under the Chairmanship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on 24th October wherein an electoral understanding was reached between the two. Its terms were : (i) though the two parties would set up their separate election boards, but they would work together in the selection of Hindu candidates; and (ii) the two would join their forces on political questions in the Punjab Assembly, but the Punjab Nationalist Party would be free to vote on questions relating to the Communal Award.¹³ However, the Punjab Nationalist Party could not gain much strength in the province due to the hobnobbing of Mahasha Krishan with the Indian National Congress which promised to sponsor his candidature for the Lahore seat, but the Congress leadership backed out later on. With this the alliance also broke down. As a result, the Nationalist Party 'spurned by the Congress and divided among itself by mutual jealousies' was in a 'precarious condition'.¹⁴ Some Congressmen, including the members of its provincial committees, who stuck to Congress principles, bitterly criticised the conciliatory attitude of their leaders to the

members of the Punjab Nationalist Party. They dubbed the compromise as 'mythical' and the candidates of the Punjab Nationalist Party as 'reactionary and undesirable'.¹⁵ This alliance apart, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya during his above referred visit to Lahore, also made attempts to effect a compromise with Bhai Parmanand, a prominent leader of the Punjab Sanatan Dharm Sabha and the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha, but these proved 'fruitless'.¹⁶

The Unionist Party, which exercised notable influence in Punjab politics since 1923 due to its total emphasis on rural uplift, was popular with the rural Hindus including the scheduled castes. Jats, Ahirs and Rajputs supported its pro-rural policies.¹⁷ As already referred to Chaudhri Chhotu Ram was the most prominent Hindu leader of this party. Though till 1935, the policies and programmes of this party accentuated the differences between the rural and urban classes, but its election manifesto of 1936 tried to fill in the rural-urban gap and broaden its social base among both the urban and rural poor by laying equal emphasis on the uplift of all the backward classes, scheduled castes and other weaker sections of society, whether rural or urban.¹⁸ The party was also favoured by the government due to its loyalist attitude. However, its economic programme was progressive.

The economic programme of the Congress was also similar to that of the Unionist Party with the difference that it emphasized socialism. Both were inter communal parties also. But the two differed in their solution of the economic and communal ailments of the people. The Congress, believing in socialism, declared that the economic problems of the Indians would be solved only after winning complete independence.¹⁹ The Unionists promised immediate economic development and relief from indebtedness and unemployment etc. even under the constitution of 1935 since its political goal for India was dominion status.²⁰

As regards the performance of the above political parties as well as of the independent candidates in various Hindu constituencies in the General Election of 1936-37, it is shown in Tables III & IV.

TABLE III
Showing the Number and Nature of Hindu Seats contested and won by Various Political Parties and Independents in 1936-37 Elections to the Punjab Legislature :

Nature of Constituency/ Constituencies	Total number for the Punjab Legislature	Hindu Maha Sabha (Hindu Election Board)	Congress (Punjab) Party		Unionist Party		Indian National Congress		Parliamentary Labour Board		Independents	
			Con.	Won	Con.	Won	Con.	Won	Con.	Won	Con.	Won
Urban	8	4	1+	1	—	—	8	7	—	—	6	13
Rural	26	12	8	1	1	12	9	6	3	—	21	48
Reserved for Scheduled Castes	8	—	—	1	—	5	3	2	1	—	5	8
Reserved for Women	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
Landholders	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pb. Commerce & Industry	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2
Trade Union Labour	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Non-Union Labour	1*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1**	1	—
Punjab University	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
TOTAL	48	18	11	4	1	17	12	17	12	1	35	73
(10)***												

+E.U.=Elected Unopposed. Con.=Contested

*Though there were two seats for Non-Union Labour for the whole Punjab, but Hindus could hope to win not more than one.

**He was supported by the Indian National Congress.

***While Dr. K.C. Yadav mentions only four seats in his above cited book, but F. No. 20/III/F-36 of the Reforms Office (N.A.I.) records that the Congress Nationalist Party contested ten seats. However, both agree that it won only one seat.

TABLE IV+
Showing total Votes, Votes cast and Votes Polled by each Political Party and Independents in various categories of Hindu seats in 1936-37 Election to the Punjab Assembly :

Nature of Constituencies	Seats won by Hindus	Total votes in contested Const.	Votes cast in contested Const.	Votes cast as %age of total votes	Votes polled (as %age of votes cast) by					
					Congress (Pb) Nationalist Party	Unionist Party	Indian National Cong.	Parliamentary Labour Board	Hindu Maha Sabha	Independents
Urban	8	162135	90737	55.96	2.439	NCP	71.197	NCP	5.056 & one E.U.	20.94
Open	26	663818	462409	69.66	3.893	24.985	16.169	NCP	22.672	31.503
Rural	8	—	66641	—	1.2	35.98 & one E.U.	10.05	NCP	NCP	52.77 & one E.U.
Reserved for Women	1	33719	16499	48.93	30.72	NCP	68.68	NCP	NCP	No Independent candidate contested for these seats.
Landholders	1	671	N.A.	E.U.	NCP	Did not field any candidate		NCP	E.U. was its candidate	
Pb. Commerce & Industry	1	121	119	98.35	NCP	NCP	NCP	NCP	NCP	98.35
Trade Union Labour	1	4024	1859	46.20	NCP	NCP	NCP	NCP	62.76	36.09
Non-Union Labour	1	3954	3235	81.82	NCP	NCP	NCP	47.42	—	57.58
Punjab Uni.	1	757	—	E.U.	NCP	NCP	NCP	NCP	NCP	E.U.

+ Abbreviations used in the table are : NCP = No candidate put up.
E.U. = Elected Unopposed.
Const. = Constituencies. Pb. = Punjab.
Cong = Congress.

A perusal of the two tables (III & IV) leads to very important conclusions. Firstly, the urban Hindus voted, contrary to the general belief that they were more communal than their rural counterparts, on the nationalist lines. Consequently, the Congress won 8 of the 9 urban seats (including one for Hindu women). Even the ninth seat, namely, the South-Western Towns (Urban, General), it lost because the papers of the Congress candidate were rejected and the candidate of the Hindu Mahasabha was elected unopposed. In the urban constituencies while the Hindu electors cast as high as over 71% in favour of the Congress candidates, the Hindu chauvinists, namely, the Hindu Mahasabha (loyalist also) and the Congress Nationalist Party (communal nationalists) polled only 5% and 2.5% respectively. In the lone women constituency of Lahore city also nearly 69% female voters cast their votes in favour of the Congress. The loyalist Unionist Party did not feel strong enough to put up any candidate for any urban seat. Secondly, the voting behaviour of the Hindus in the rural constituencies was little complex. In the Muslim majority areas of Western Punjab and the Sikh dominated territories of Central Punjab they voted overwhelmingly in favour of the communal-cum-loyalist Hindu Mahasabha and the communal-cum-nationalist Congress Nationalist Party but in the Hindu majority region of the east Punjab they voted for the loyalist Unionist Party. Out of the 9 Hindu rural seats won by the Hindu Mahasabha 4 fell in the Muslim-dominated western Punjab, 3 in the Sikh-dominated Central Punjab and one was that of the Hindu landlords; only one seat fell in the Hindu dominated eastern Punjab. The only rural seat won by the communal Congress Nationalist Party also fell in the Central Punjab. But on the contrary, out of the 12 rural seats won by the loyalist Unionists, 9 were in the Hindu dominated eastern Punjab. Thirdly, it follows from above that while the rural Hindus of the eastern part of the province placed an unquestioned faith in the leadership of Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, the Hindus of the rest of the rural Punjab did not do so to the same extent. Fourthly, the upper and middle rural classes extended greater support to the loyalist Unionists and the Hindu Mahasabha than the Indian National Congress. While the Unionist Party and the Hindu Mahasabha secured 25% and 23% of the rural Hindu votes cast, the Congress had to content itself only with 16%. Fifthly, the opportunist and communal politics of the Congress Nationalist Party, which had been set up in the wake of the Communal Award by breaking with the Indian National Congress with a view to making electoral gains out of the communal fears of the Hindu minority of the province, was disapproved. It could win only one seat in the whole province and polled only 3.65% of the votes cast. Consequently, it also proved that the Punjabi Hindus were clearly divided into two camps, the loyalists and the nationalists. They either voted for the loyalist Unionists and the Hindu Mahasabha or for the politically advanced Indian National Congress. Confused and opportunist politics of the irrational brand of communal nationalism as pursued by the Congress (Punjab) Nationalist Party did not fit in their political thinking. Lastly, the scales bowed in favour of the loyalists vis-a-vis the

nationalists. While the Indian National Congress won only 12 seats the loyalists won almost double that number (Hindu Mahasabha 11 and the Unionists 12).

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Augmenting Productivity of Banks' Advances : A Perceptual Viewpoint.

OM PRAKASH GOYAL

The Delineation of 'Productivity'

The expression 'productivity' has varied meanings, connotations and forms. In fact it has long been used by economists as a theoretical and interpretive concept, and its measurement has found diverse application. Broadly it has been viewed as "a class of empirical output-input ratios that is widely used in economic history, economic analysis and economic policy".¹ And, "In one sense, productivity measures the fruitfulness of human labor under varying circumstances. In another sense, productivity measures the efficiency with which resources as a whole, including capital as well as manpower, are employed in production. In still another sense, productivity measures the forces that underlie the trend of real wages. And, in a fourth sense, productivity measures a major factor in the determination of labor or capital requirement".² India's late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi while dedicating 1982 as the 'Year of Productivity' observed that, "Productivity is an essential part of our urge for self improvement and the achievement of excellence which must be part of any dynamic society ... We must get more out of every acre under the plough, out of every spindle and machine, out of every technologist and worker, out of every Rupee spent. Decision making must be expedited, and there should be greater delegation of financial and administrative powers, simplification of procedures, improvements in work environment, better maintenance of plant and equipment for increased capacity utilisation."³ Within the orbit of these versions productivity is nothing but striving for greater efficiency to get the best results out of funds used; to get the maximum mileage out of materials used; to utilise to tilt the capabilities of the manpower used; to enhance to the full potential the capacities of the machines used etc⁴. In pith it is getting the best out of men and equipment through harnessing the forces of modern science and technology.

The Focus of this study

2. It is within the ambit of this widely assigned meaning to the term 'productivity' that this paper focuses its attention primarily on how to augment the productivity of the credit granted in varied shapes by the commercial banking system to the different conventional, priority and hitherto neglected sectors of the economy. Before we actually set on this task it would be essential to understand the place of commercial banking system in the Indian economic setting on the one hand, and present an overview of the credit extended by them to this date, on the other.

Commercial Banking system in the Present day Indian Economic setting

3. We all are well aware about the state of affairs concerning the commercial banking system prior to the implementation of Social Control Scheme over them. Excepting the SBI Group, all banks were managed and controlled by the prominent industrial magnates of this country. Accordingly either they themselves or to whom they happened to desire alone used to be the beneficiaries from the commercial banking system. And in respect to 'productivity' again it's their perceptions which used to dominate the managerial hierarchy of bankers. Virtually the latter class was expected not to question the former class irrespective of any issue including their loan portfolio. No doubt the State Bank of India and its associated banks did enjoy little freedom on this score. In 1970s and thereafter this situation underwent change significantly, particularly with the nationalisation of 14 commercial banks in July 1969, and later on of the 6 other commercial banks in April, 1980.

4. The chunk portion of the commercial banking system having come under the direct ownership and control of the State, it now constitutes an important set of finance institutions which is similar to other societal institutions having an explicit 'mission' that every unit of it would do nothing but to contribute its maximum towards the accomplishment of objectives laid down from time to time for the nation through the mechanism of planning such as the attainment of targeted rate of growth through assisting the process of capital formation at its all stages, promotion of balanced growth, reduction in the inequalities found in the distribution of income and wealth, generation of employment opportunities, alleviation of poverty and increasing of efficiency and productivity, etc. In doing so they are further expected to adopt the over all strategy planned for them by the Government through Reserve Bank of India and other apex finance intermediaries. Obviously, it has meant for them, as far as their lending activities are concerned, granting of loans and advances to the priority and other hitherto neglected sectors of our economy in the pre-laid down proportions and change in their organisational, operational, and attitudinal aspects of functioning. Implied in it is also a shift in their traditional preference for 'security-wise considered sound' loan proposals to 'need-based' and 'productivity-oriented' projects apart from approbation of a flexible approach and keeping up of an open mind in all matters.

An Overview of the Banks' Advances Portfolio

5. As may be perused in the Exhibit, our commercial banking system has been doing as we watch for it to do since June, 1969 in so far as quantitative performance is concerned. Thus the share of public sector banks advances to priority and other hitherto neglected sectors in their total outstanding advances rose to over 41 per cent at the close of June 1985* from about 15 percent as at the end of June 1969 which

*The net bank credit granted to the priority sectors by the scheduled commercial banks stood at 42.3 per cent at the end of March 1987. Source : Reserve Bank of India, 'Annual Report, 1986-87, Bombay, p. 30.

indicate an almost three-fold increase during a period of fifteen years. As a consequence to this the share of large and medium sized industries in the total outstanding advances of scheduled commercial banks has been reduced significantly from about 61 percent on March 31, 1968 to 35.5 percent on the last Friday of March 1987⁵.

Exhibit : Advances to Agriculture and other Hitherto Neglected Sectors by Public Sector Banks

(Accounts in '000s)

(Amount in Rs. crores)

SECTOR	JUNE 1969		JUNE 1985*	
	Number of accounts	Amount outstanding	Number of accounts	Amount outstanding
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. Agriculture				
(i) Direct Finance +	160	40.21 (1.3)	13,869	6437 (14.08)
(ii) Indirect Finance	4	122.12 (4.1)	995	1416 (3.10)
2. Small Scale Industries + +	51	251.07 (8.3)	1,510	6766 (14.79)
3. Setting up of Industrial Estates	—	neg. (neg.)	2	72 (0.16)
4. Road & Water Transport Operators	2	5.49 (0.2)	583	1855 (4.06)
5. Retail Trade	33@	19.37@ (0.6)	2,054	1020 (2.23)
6. Small Business	—	— (—)	1,611	570 (1.25)
7. Professional & Self Employed Persons	8	1.91 (0.1)	1,545	605 (1.32)
8. Education	1	0.80 (neg.)	58	26 (0.06)
9. Consumption Loans	—	— (—)	166	17 (0.04)
10. S.S.C's Organisations for on-lending to priority sectors mentioned at 4 to 9 above	—	— (—)	6	4 (neg.)

11. S.S. Organisations for SC/ST for purchase and supply of inputs and marketing of outputs	—	— (-)	2	2 neg.)
12. Housing Loans	—	— (-)	154	50 (0.11)
13. Total Priority Sector Advances (1 to 12)	260	440.97 (14.6)	22,555	18840 (40.20)
14. Total Bank Credit	—	3017.00 (100.00)	—	45731 (100.00)

*Provisional

+Excludes advances to plantations other than development finance.

++Number of units

@ ncludes small business

Note : Figures within brackets indicate the percentage to total advances of these banks.

Source : Government of India, Ministry of Finance, Economic Division, 'Economic Survey 1986-87', p. S-45.

6. However, the perceptual information gathered by the author from about 150 randomly selected practising bankers representing public sector banks in the States of Rajasthan, Haryana & Punjab coupled with author's own observations based on interactions with the actual borrowers and important readings on the subjects of banking and Indian economic, social, political, and ethical aspects safely permits us to hypothesise that as at the moment neither during the whole process of sanctioning loans nor in the later stages of follow up, recovery, or after the completion of the project financed, serious and realistic attempt is not made on the part of the lending bankers to assess the impact of extended financial assistance on increasing/decreasing productivity in the concerned area/s. This is however not to deny that gradually the processes connected with scrutinizing of loan applications, and monitoring of loans are being placed on scientific footings. Hence, we would not like to reiterate what is already being done in the context of raising the productivity of banks' advances. In fact our hearty admiration is due to them. In this paper we only propose to highlight the aspects, which if given weight and transcribed into practice in the right spirit, would make our bankers' more productivity cognizant and thereby abet the process of amplifying the productivity of banks' advances portfolio. The subsequent discussion, therefore, has mainly been captioned under two broad heads : (i) the managerial and attitudinal amelioration called for *tout de suite*; and, (ii) specific directions to deal with the system's variegated clientele.

1. Managerial and Attitudinal Amelioration called for *Tout De Suite* Realising the Importance of Chairpersons and most effective Leadership style

7. In an empirical study recently completed under the supervision of the author through selecting four industrial enterprises with a view to probe into the most effective techniques⁶ available for leading the people working in groups and maximizing their contribution to the accomplishment of organizational missions/objectives, it has been clearly brought to light that all techniques would fail in moulding the behaviour of the organization members as we want unless we have democratic leaders possessing necessary expertise, and operating in a team spirit.⁷ The style of leadership which is being advocated here can alone help understand the complexity of different roles assumed by the people, the individuality of the people and their varied personalities. And it is through this exercise that they can correctly recognize the variegated motives, needs, and aspirations of the organizational members and make some meaningful headway towards instituting an appropriate system of motivators apart from designing effective systems of communication, participation and information sharing.

8. On this score let us appreciate that our different banking units are headed by professionally competent bankers. However, there are certain aspects which still need serious consideration in this regard. Is our selection system for the Top Positions like Chairman, General Managers, etc. altogether fair and free from political considerations? To what extent our professionally competent bankers are really democratic in their actions and possess a team spirit? Do all of them satisfy the yardsticks of desired level of honesty and integrity? How many of them are really imbued with such personal traits like creativity, dynamism, objectivity, and a flexible functional approach? Last but not least in importance, how many of them have the courage to question the Government/the Reserve Bank of India's those policies which are designed clearly to attain certain political motives? In brief the responses recorded by the author present a very dismal picture of all these aspects.

Effective Organizational Structure

9. The organizational charts developed in different banks have little bearing on productivity. The top management has certainly defined the responsibilities and delegated commensurate authority to the executive and supervisory level of managerial staff so far as the lending operations are concerned. But the extent of delegation is not to the desired extent; true of course is again the fact that the position in this respect differs from one bank to another. Without naming the banks, it may be stressed that in certain banks, branch managers have little authority. Hence, there is in fact the need for redefining the entire concept of responsibility, authority and accountability, and examining the extent to which the authority needs to be delegated to the branch managers so as to allow them to deal meaningfully with the borrowers

without any reference or prior approval from their bosses operating from the Divisional/Regional offices. Let this delegation of authority further permit branch managers to exercise some degree of freedom in their decisions. Also pertinent in this context is another question. Do the executive cadre of managers have an invigorate capability of taking independent decisions ?

Too much emphasis on the Accomplishment of quantitative Targets needs to be Discarded

10. Undisputably 'Credit Planning' is essential not only on the part of the Reserve Bank of India but also on the part of each sub-part of our commercial banking system. And as apart of credit planning specific targets of lending for the different segments of our economy/society have to be laid down. In this respect by and large the situation is satisfactory. The lapses observed can be removed through appropriate measures. However, the present emphasis of banks' managements that somehow these quantitative targets of lending must be attained is certainly not correct. In particular the current approach of Reserve Bank of India, and subservient to it that of the Corporate Managements of commercial banks, to bring off the quantitative targets determined for lending to the different priority and hitherto neglected sectors of the economy, and for such schemes like DRI and other Innovative Schemes designed to help out the downtrodden and backward and scheduled caste/scheduled tribe classes of the society is questionable. The branch managers are expected almost on an obligatory basis to disburse funds to the clientele belonging to/covered through any one of the aforesaid area/scheme whether the genuine borrowers exist or not, as also irrespective of the fact that their past record both in point of proper utilization of loans and thereafter concerning with the repayments have just been intolerable on the grounds of judicious principles of qualitative lending. Hence some change in the customary approach is urgently needed. The qualitative aspects need to be cared side by side the attainment of quantitative targets. Loans may not be thrust upon the borrowers. The borrowers who possess requisite technical skills, are of high integrity and honesty, have a firm belief in utilising scientific inputs and high-tech, have established a record of fruitfully utilizing the loans for the purposes they came to be sanctioned and of repaying them on the due dates and that of discernible increase in productivity need to be preferred; let it may result into slight impairment in the quantitative accomplishments of the banks. It may be added that the fear expressed by us would not come true because our commercial banking system is not characterised by a situation of surplus funds. The total funds available for actual lending fall much shorter than their demand; nearly 45 per cent of the aggregate deposits *de facto* remains available for granting loans after meeting the SLR, CRR, and banks' own liquid cash requirements. In view of this, we can safely suggest that the productivity of banks' advances would stand significantly augmented if banks could follow the policy of 'Quality-Based Lending' for 80 per cent of their advances and that of 'Mass-Lending' for the remaining 20 per cent.

Performance Appraisal Criteria

11. Closely associated with the above is another submission. The above philosophy can see its transcription into practice only when Corporate Managements of the banks also make a shift in the current criteria of appraising the performance of Branch Managers and other Executive Level Managerial Personnel. As has been deduced from the responses recorded, the present thrust in appraising the performance of managerial personnel is on the accomplishment of lending targets as determined in quantitative terms, loyalty towards the boss/bosses and several other subjective criteria like how much care is taken of the personal jobs of bosses during the course of their inspections, how many times they pay courtesy visits, how much valuable gifts are presented by them apart from arranging sumptuous lunches/dinners from time to time. This quantitative and purely subjective approach of appraising the operative staff by the branch agents, the branch agents by the divisional/regional managers, and the divisional/regional managers by the General Managers/Chairmen has to be replaced by a system based on objective criteria like loyalty and sincerity towards institution and tasks assigned by it, the number of genuine borrowers financed, the number of projects financed which resulted either into import substitution or innovations, the contribution made towards the creation of a right work culture in the unit under his charge, an environment of trust, cooperation, and a team spirit among the subordinates via democratic behaviour based on expertise demonstrations, promotion of participative management, the level of customer satisfaction, creativity and farsightedness shown, record of his excellences, and similar other productivity amplifying tests.

System of Beguiling Rewards & Deterrent Chastening

12. The recommended performance appraisal system can be quite effective if we are able to develop in every bank a well defined system of captivating reward for those who are contributing towards the augmentation of productivity of banks' advances and deterrently punishing those who prove to be a hinderance either in the way of those who are keen to contribute to this devout cause or are not prepared to mould their behaviour. Since we propose that this system should cover all levels of managerial and operative personnel of banks, due support and appreciation of the propogated philosophy is needed on the part of both the Ministry of Finance and Reserve Bank of India under whose supervision our entire commercial banking system is functioning. Indeed nothing would materialize until the Chairmen of the different commercial banks would come to be supported by the Reserve Bank of India/Ministry of Finance in giving effect to their operational plans aside appraising their performance on the basis of above listed objective criteria periodically.

Norms and Procedures of Lending

13. Quite appreciable it is that in our banking industry we have standardized norms and procedures for almost every kind of lending. This saves time both for the managerial

personnel of the banks and their clientele. What is disturbing in this regard are two things. One, the maximum amount of loans determined in the case of small borrowers, under DRI scheme, etc. are not realistic. For instance in case of DRI scheme the maximum amount that can now be advanced to one borrower is Rs. 6,500/-. Supposing that the borrower needs money to buy two buffaloes, which would be the minimum feasible proposition, this amount would be found inadequate. Second, the bankers in terms of the present Government Policy are forced to provide loans on terms, which are not at all economical to them. Again they are virtually forced to extend their financial assistance for such purposes, which on account of typical Indian environment, have been found rather unworthy and unprofitable.

Monitoring Process

14. There is ongoing realization of the importance of a follow up and monitoring mechanism by banks. Indeed noticeable headway has also been made in this direction. But from the angle of augmenting the productivity of banks' advances an insistence on the following two aspects is called for :

- proper utilization of loans in sharp contrast to repayments of loans on due dates; and
- gathering of informations on such aspects as the impact of their financing on the generation of new employment opportunities, increase in production, capital-output ratios, and increase in income in money terms.

II. Specific Directions to deal with the System's Variegated Clientele

15. The clientele of the banking system can broadly be categorised into (a) conventional borrowers, and (b) new class of borrowers. In the former are included borrowers belonging to large-, medium-, and small-sized industrial enterprises and those engaged in commerce and trade, while the rest could be covered in the new class of borrowers.

(a) Conventional Borrowers

16. Be it a large, medium or small-sized industrial unit banks provide loans on the basis of thorough scrutiny of economic, financial, technical, and managerial viability of the projects. For the purpose, the borrowers are also required to furnish the banks with numerous financial statements. Even so, capital out-put ratio has steadily reached the level of 6:1 from 3:1⁸. The number of total sick units has gradually risen to 1,19,606 as at the end of December 1985 from 60,173 as at the end of December 1982; the outstanding bank credit against these units having stood at Rs. 4,271 crores as at the end of December 1985. What is more important is the fact that of the total 1,19,606 sick units: as many as 1,17,783 (nearly 98.5 percent of the total) are small scale industrial units. Further, the viability studies completed upto the close of December 1985 in respect to 1,07,631 units reveal that bulk of them (99,062 constituting over 92 percent of the total) have been found non-viable. And it is in these non-viable units that a sum of nearly Rs. 1,791 crores (41.93 percent) of the total

outstanding bank credit of Rs. 4,271 crores is blocked⁹. Clearly it leads us to conclude that there is some fault somewhere. The objective analysis of the recorded responses reveals that :

- the criteria determined for appraising the projects are neither comprehensive nor discriminative of worthwhile and unworthy projects;
- the exercise of appraisal is not undertaken by the right persons; and in a good number of cases the appraisal of projects is undertaken merely to fulfil an essential formality either on account of some political pressures or due to the involvement of some one's vested interests for subjective or other pecuniary considerations.

Warranted modifications in the appraisal criteria/machinery

17. One, in the appraisal procedure top most priority must be assigned to the degree of honesty, sincerity and integrity that is found in the promoters/ entrepreneur/s submitting the loan proposal. If they are not of the right type, even the viable projects should be rejected straight away. The aspect of honesty, sincerity and integrity can be adjudged by banks through competent psychologists and sociologists. Second, banks should also stress on gathering of informations from borrowers on such aspects as : loyalty towards nation; family and social background including the degree of attachment found towards family members; personal traits, hobbies and life style; the mission of life; and attitude towards technological developments, innovations and the keenness to adopt them, and towards democracy, participative management, sharing of gains between the employer and employees, etc. The psychologists/sociologists can conveniently analyse these informations and guide the banks in matters concerning with the selection of righteous promoters/entrepreneurs for the purposes of granting financial assistance.

(b) New class of clientele

18. If the proposed loaning targets of 80 percent for 'Quality Lending' and 20 percent for 'Mass Lending' come to be accepted as an operational basis for our banking system in the interest of raising productivity of banks' advances, then for the emerging class of borrowers, which primarily include road and water transport operators, retail traders and small businessmen, professional and self-employed persons, students keen to acquire higher education etc. we have once again to belabour that in their cases too honesty, sincerity and integrity of the borrower must be minutely assessed. And those found possessing higher level on this score should be preferred if it is also coupled with requisite technical/professional skills and right type of aptitudes/habits/outlook/potential of adaptation for environmental and technological changes. Further, those

who are chosen by banks for the objective, their full financial needs, assessed in a realistic manner, should be met. The approach should never be to finance only a portion of their needs and leaving for the rest to themselves.

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Wage-Productivity Relationship in Manufacturing Sector in Punjab

GURBACHAN KAUR

The developing economies have to grapple with three kinds of wage policy problems viz. those concerned with the general rate of increase of wages, the range and structure of wage differences and the variability of wages on the basis of performance and productivity. However, the context in which these problems are discussed in the Western economies differ markedly from that of the underdeveloped economies and they involve different policy consideration. Nor is the historical experience of the present day developed economies of the West a sufficient guide to the formulation of our wage policy because of very low levels of wages for which there is hardly any parallel anywhere. It implies a very urgent need to guarantee a certain minimum living wage to the Indian labour, so as to remove sweating and improve productivity.

Wage policy, therefore, has to strike a balance between ensuring minimum incomes for unorganised labour on the one hand and increasing opportunities for employment on the other. It must also pay adequate attention to the rationalisation of wage structures and ironing out of the more glaring anomalies. Besides, it is more important that it should aim at evolving a more scientific approach towards incentives for higher productivity and for better performance, in short encouraging a system of payments related to output or performance. There was a considerable emphasis on this aspect in India right from the First Five Year Plan, when the planners pointed out that ".....On the side of labour, there should be a keen realization of the fact that in an underdeveloped economy, it cannot build for itself and the community a better life except on the foundations of a higher level of productivity to which it has itself to make a substantial contribution." The Second and Third Five Year Plans also enlightened the need for removing wage disparities but at the same time emphasized that further increases in the wages should be based mainly on improvements in productivity. The Fifth and Sixth plans had also called for increases in wage being closely connected with increases in productivity.

There is an increasing realisation in the country today that improvement in wages can result mainly from increased productivity. Although rise in productivity has necessarily to be based on technological improvements, yet there is still much to be achieved in our country through a more effective use of existing resources, especially manpower. But it does not mean that productivity of labour is the only factor that determines wages. It is important to remember that labour is only one of the several factors of production. There are other inputs also such as capital, raw materials

etc. which take part in production. Therefore certain assumptions will have to be made regarding those inputs while linking wages with labour productivity. If output-capital ratio, for example, remains constant wage increases proportionate to labour productivity would imply a constant rate of return. If capital output ratio declines, wage increases proportionate to productivity cannot be allowed without depressing the rate of return. If on the other hand, the ratio of output to capital rises, it may be possible to allow more than proportionate increase in wages consistent with stable or even rising rate of return. Capital productivity is, therefore, as significant as labour productivity in a study of wage productivity relationship.

There are two distinct aspects of the wage productivity relationship in India. Firstly, because labour productivity is relatively high in industry, wages in industry tend to move faster than the average productivity in the economy as a whole and this has an inflationary effect on prices, unless money supply is restrained. Secondly, the quasi-automatic link between the money wage level and the consumer price level has an element of cost push inflation which cuts real wages in the long run.

This study has been undertaken in the light of above facts. The main objective is to find out how far the labour productivity explains the variations in money earnings. Moreover, attempt has been made to identify some factors which effect wage-productivity relationship.

Methodology

The basic data for the study are obtained from the Economic and Statistical Organisation of Punjab for the period of 1975-76 to 1981-82. It relates to some industries in the census sector viz. Cotton ginning, cleaning and bailing (Industrial Code Number 230); Cotton Spinning, weaving shrinking and finishing of cotton textiles (Industrial code No. 231), printing, dyeing and bleaching of cotton textiles (Industrial Code No. 232), Wool cleaning, bailing and pressing (Industrial Code No. 240); Wool Spining and Weaving and finishing in mills (Industrial Code No. 241); Dyeing and bleaching of Woollen textiles (Industrial Code No 243); Printing, dyeing and bleaching of synthetic textiles (Industrial Code No. 248); Knitting mills (Industrial Code No. 260); Sawing and planing of wood (Industrial Code No. 271); Printing and publishing of periodicals and books etc. (Industrial Code No. 285); Manufacture of motor vehicles and parts (Industrial Code No.374); Manufacture of Bicycle and cycle parts (Industrial Code No. 376).

In order to rule out the effect of inflation, different items like capital, net distributable output, earnings of employees are deflated by using appropriate price indices as the base year.

Partial productivity ratios for each year are obtained by dividing the index of net distributable output by the index of respective inputs. Total factor productivity is

equal to $P = \frac{V}{a_0L + b_0K}$ where V is the index of net distributable output, L is index of labour input (earnings of employees at constant prices), K is the index of capital input (fixed capital at constant prices), a_0 and b_0 are the coefficient of labour and capital of base year. For computing the coefficients, the percentage share of labour and capital services in the base year is used. The weighted inputs of labour and capital in subsequent reference year are added to get the total input.

In order to find out the extent of variation explained by productivity in money wages, the earnings per man day employees is regressed on labour productivity (at current prices) and cost of living index of industrial workers. It is given by the equation $x_1 = a_{1.23} + b_{12.3}x_2 + b_{13.2}x_3$ where x_1 is the index of money earnings, x_2 is the index of labour productivity, x_3 is the index of cost of living index of industrial workers, $b_{12.3}$ and $b_{13.2}$ are the partial regression coefficients of labour productivity (x_2) and cost of living index of industrial workers (x_3) respectively. Coefficient of multiple determination is computed by the formula -

$$R^2 = \frac{r_{13}^2 + r_{12}^2 - 2r_{12}r_{13}r_{23}}{1 - r_{23}^2}$$

where r_{13} , r_{12} and r_{23} are simple correlation coefficients. In order to calculate the real earning cost, money earning is deflated by product prices termed henceforth as 'product earnings'.

Findings and Conclusions

The main findings of the study are :

1. The annual trend rates for the period 1975-76 to 1981-82 of total factor productivity, labour productivity and capital productivity is given in table 1.

Table 1. Annual Trend Rates of Productivity

(Base : 1975-76=100)

Industry Code No.	Labour productivity	Capital productivity	Total factor productivity
230	2.42	-7.24	0.98
231	10.36	-2.15	1.46
232	2.98	0.38	0.42
240	-3.53	12.00	7.58
241	-1.72	0.10	-0.16
243	-2.67	5.66	3.93
248	8.85	5.27	2.72
260	1.33	-1.87	-1.34
271	-2.13	22.66	4.43
285	-3.30	46.61	21.56
375	-3.38	-5.28	-5.34
376	3.96	11.85	10.33

Out of the twelve industries, cotton spinning, weaving, shrinking and finishing of cotton textiles records the maximum (10.36) and knitting mills records the least positive (4.33) trend rates in labour productivity. So far the as capital productivity is concerned, printing and publishing of periodicals and books records the maximum trend rate (46.61) while wool spinning, weaving and finishing in mills comes at the bottom (0.10). Capital input improved its productivity more as compared to labour input in most industries. Total factor productivity which is the indicator of overall efficiency of inputs improved highly in the case of printing and publishing of periodicals and books--the annual trend rate being 21.56.

2. The industries which have high wage rate in the base year show less increase in wages as compare to the industries which have low wage rate in the base year. Money earnings increased in all industries except in printing and publishing of periodicals and book industry in which wage rate is highest at the base year. Dyeing and bleaching of woollen textiles industry has maximum trend rate of money wages, while this industry has low wage rate in the base year. Annual trend rates in money earnings and real earnings are given in table 2.

Table 2. Annual trend rates of money earnings and real earnings (1975-76=100)

Industry Code No.	Money earnings	Real earnings
230	6.75	-0.58
231	7.49	-0.20
232	15.63	5.63
240	8.36	0.63
241	8.59	0.937
243	15.72	5.79
248	10.76	2.82
260	13.68	0.47
271	3.62	-2.13
285	-0.30	-1.40
375	8.80	4.95
376	7.81	0.85

3. Although money earnings bear a significant correlation with cost of living index, yet some other factors are also important in determining inter-industry variations in wage trends. This is clear from the fact, that while in all industries money earnings have increased with rise in cost of living, the extent differs significantly from one industry to other. In some industries, it was not adequate even to neutralize the cost of living index so that real earnings showed an absolute decline. In printing dyeing and bleaching of cotton textiles (Code No. 232) real earnings of employees have increased by 45 per cent over the whole period while in printing, dyeing and bleaching of synthetic textiles (Code No. 248), the rise of real earning is only 12 per cent.

4. It has been observed that there is positive correlation between labour productivity and money earnings although the extent of correlation is different in different industries. In some industries, it is weak while in others, it is high. The productivity explains above, 70 per cent of variation in money earnings in printing, dyeing and bleaching of cotton textiles (Code No. 232), printing dyeing and bleaching of synthetic textiles (Code No. 248) and in publishing and printing of periodicals and books (Code No. 285). In case of printing dyeing and bleaching of cotton textiles (Code No. 232) R^2 further improves to .908 with the introduction of cost of living index of industrial workers as an additional explanatory variables. But in other two industries cost of living index alone does not play an important role as only 9 and 31 per cent of variation is explained by this variable respectively. In the case of cotton, spinning, weaving, shrinking and finishing of cotton textiles (Code No. 231) and in wool cleaning, bailing and pressing (Code No. 240) both labour productivity and cost of living index are equally significant in determining variation in money earnings. In sawing and planing of wood (Code No. 271) the part of the variation explained by productivity is as low as 18 per cent. The weak correlation between output per man per day and earnings per man day means that latter might increase without a corresponding increase in the former. The results of regression are given in Annex. I.

5. The relation between the product earnings and the labour productivity would measure the real burdens on the industry. A rise in product earnings faster than labour productivity would imply rising real earnings burden on the industry. Annual trend rates in product earnings are given in the following table. In printing, dyeing and bleaching of cotton textiles (Code No. 232), printing dyeing and bleaching of woollen textiles (Code No. 243), the annual trend rates of product earnings surpassed the annual trend rates of labour productivity implying rising wage burdens on these industries. But wool cleaning, bailing and pressing industry (Code No. 240) enjoyed increasing capital productivity so that rising earnings cost did not depress the rate of return on capital.

Table 3 : Annual Trend Rates in Product Earnings

Industrial Code No.	Product earnings
230	- 1.12
231	-1.33
232	4.42
240	3.79
241	-0.45
243	4.896
248	2.06
260	- 10.36
271	- 5.49
285	- 4.67
375	-3.14
376	-0.74

In certain industries such as in cotton spinning, weaving and finishing in mills (Code No. 231); Printing, dyeing and bleaching of synthetic textiles (Code No. 248); Printing and publishing periodicals and books (Code No. 283) and in Manufacture of bicycle, cycle rickshaws and parts (Code No. 376); the indices of product earnings lagged behind that of labour productivity placing the employer in a relatively favourable position.

6. It has been found that the relative share of labour also affects wage-productivity relationship by influencing the bargaining power of labour. If the share of labour input in an industry is low, a given increase in wage rate will make a smaller difference to the cost of production and the employer will offer comparatively less resistance to workers demand for rise in wage rates. As observed in Printing, dyeing and bleaching of woollen textiles (Code No. 243); Printing dyeing and bleaching of cotton textiles (Code No. 232) and in knitting mills (Code No. 260), the wage rate in the base period is very low and its trend that is increase in money earnings is high.

7. Technological pattern of an industry also exercises some influence on wage productivity relationship. Relatively favourable wage deals become possible in industries with large capital intensity. In this study, Printing, dyeing and bleaching of cotton textiles (Code No. 232); Wool spinning, weaving and finishing in mills (Code No. 241); and knitting mills (Code No. 260) are capital intensive. That is why rate of increase in money earnings in these industries is quite high although labour productivity is low.

8. Labour productivity should always be considered in conjunction with capital productivity for determining the appropriate increase in wage rates. Larger increase in wage rates relative to labour productivity may be granted consistent with stable or even rising rates if output capital ratio show a simultaneous rise. Wool cleaning, bailing and pressing (Code No. 240); Sawing and planing of wood (Code No. 270); Manufacture of bicycle, cycle rickshaw and parts (Code No. 276) illustrate this proposition. Table 1 indicates that increase in wage rates in these industries is related with rise in capital productivity.

Increase in productivity due to rise in wage rates is consistent with stability at the level of economy as a whole. At an industry level, however, what is more significant is the rise in the money value of the product. Changes in the prices of an industry's product relative to general price level are as important for determining factor rewards as variation in levels of productivity. In Printing and publishing of periodicals and book industry (Code No. 285) the total factor productivity increased with annual trend rate of 21.56 but money earnings fell. In such cases, productivity does not provide an adequate answer; wages of workers can be protected only by a suitable price policy for the industry or grant of a subsidy on employment in some form.

Rapid growth of an industry should normally favour higher relative wage increase. The data, however, do not establish any conclusive evidence in this regard. It seems probable that unskilled labour is in plentiful supply. Rapid expansion of a particular industry does not help labour until there are other influences working in this direction. It goes without saying, of course, that continued overall growth of industry would ultimately raise both employment and wage levels in the country. In fact the labour class enjoys positive gains in the period of productivity increments and productivity losses. Since that propensity to save and invest out of capital income is generally high, for capital formation the undue bargaining power in favour of labour should always be avoided.

Co-efficients of labour productivity, cost of living and multiple determination.				
Industrial Code No.	Constant of the equation a 1.23	Coefficient of labour productivity index b 12.3	Coefficient of cost of living index b 3.2	Coefficient of multiple determination 2 R
230	95.94	0.229 (0.486)	0.103 (0.722)	0.775
231	-87.03	0.897 (0.486)	0.618 (0.764)	0.797
232	32.14	0.309 (0.722)	0.637 (0.799)	0.908
240	16.64	0.199 (0.605)	0.982 (0.959)	0.98
241	16.05	-0.01 (0.53)	1.17 (0.938)	0.934
243	-78.25	-0.57 (0.385)	2.28 (0.952)	0.97
248	-46.67	-0.031 (0.774)	1.55 (0.086)	0.777
260	87.00	0.841 (0.476)	-0.458 (0.323)	0.512
271	32.41	0.019 (0.188)	0.546 (0.576)	0.724
285	66.44	0.859 (0.714)	-0.598 (0.31)	0.797
375	-23.3	0.536 (0.675)	0.711 (0.738)	6.912
376	-8.3	0.061 (0.36)	0.963 (0.874)	0.882

Public Enterprise Pricing and Economic Theory*

SURINDER KUMAR

In a market economy, the price mechanism determines factor proportions in which inputs should be used to produce a given level of output, relative amounts of goods to be produced, and distributes goods among consumers in accordance with their willingness to pay, given a particular distribution of income and wealth. It is assumed that the producers, factor suppliers and consumers try to maximise their self interests. An ideal price system is one which allocates inputs, produces outputs and distributes goods amongst consumers in such a way that no redistribution can improve the social welfare, not only at a point of time but also over a period of time.¹

The pricing can be used as a policy instrument if the market is imperfect and the enterprise can control its price and output i.e. the enterprise has some degree of control over the course of events. Most of the public enterprises operate in imperfect market conditions. Many of them are natural monopolies. Therefore, there is a need to lay down policy guide-lines for price formulation keeping the socio-economic objectives with which the enterprise has been brought into existence in view.

In the advanced capitalist countries, the public enterprises are supposed to supply certain commodities at a reasonable price. The pricing policy is used as an instrument to make allocation of resources as efficient as possible. The price paid by a consumer indicates his willingness to pay. Price is made to reflect resource embodiment in a given commodity production. Therefore, the price is used to signal the consumer the resource cost of supplying a particular commodity. This is essential for the efficient allocation of resources. The whole range of theory of public pricing has been evolved to ensure the optimal allocation of resources and the maximisation of social welfare.

In the developing countries like India, the pricing policy should not only lead to an efficient allocation of resources but also to increase their production potential and to improve their resource base. Every enterprise has a number of backward and forward linkages. The price and investment decisions of an enterprise have a bearing on and stimulate economic activity in the related enterprises. In India, the pricing and investment policy should ensure that the highest rate of growth is achieved with social justice, which is the stated objective of Indian planning.

Now, we shall discuss the theoretical basis and intricacies of pricing principles for efficient allocation of resources. Later, we will modify our analysis with a view to meet certain other socio-economic objectives in relation to the developing countries like India.

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2. Pricing for efficient allocation of resources

Most of the public enterprise economics has been theorised on the criterion that the pricing and investment policies of the public enterprises should lead to an efficient allocation of resources in the economy. The allocation of resources means a particular distribution of inputs (resources) among various commodities in the production process and a distribution of commodities among various consumers in the exchange process. An efficient allocation means that no redistribution of inputs can increase the output of any product without decreasing the output of at least one commodity and also that, given a particular distribution of income, no redistribution of commodities among the consumers can improve social welfare without decreasing the welfare of at least one person.

The resource allocation is generally a matter for general equilibrium analysis. If more of a good is to be produced, given an amount of resources at society's disposal less of other goods will be produced. Thus the optimal level can be determined only in relation to other commodities. The welfare economists have followed two approaches for the optimisation of the allocation of resources. The first, in the general equilibrium framework, can be described as pareto-optimality. The second involves maximisation of consumer's plus producer's surplus.² The latter approach is used in partial equilibrium framework and can be shown to be a particular case of the first approach³

2. (i) Pareto Optimal Resource Allocation :

Vil-fredo Pareto (1848-1923) proposed certain criteria for social optimality which is based on two value judgements :

1. Individuals are held to be the best judges of their own welfare, so that we accept that a person is better in situation 'B' than in situation A if he prefers B to A. Here choices and preferences are assumed to coincide.
2. Situation B is better than situation A, if at least one individual in the economy is better off at B than at A and no one is worse off.

The first value judgement avoids paternalism and the second rules out interpersonal comparison. It may be noted that these value judgements reject the organic concept of society and stand in contrast to Hegelian based philosophies where group is seen to have a spirit of its own.⁴

Given the initial resource allocation A, if it is possible to find another allocation B at which someone is made better off and no one worse off, then B is called Pareto preferred to A. Suppose we make a change to B and find that there is no other reallocation which is Pareto preferred to B, then B is called Pareto optimal resources allocation. In Pareto optimality interpersonal comparison is ruled out. Pareto optimality will be achieved when the welfare of even one person cannot be

further increased without decreasing the welfare of at least one person in the society. Thus, Pareto optimality becomes a problem of constrained maximisation with the utility of one person maximised and utility functions of other persons serving as a constraint.

To achieve Pareto optimal resource allocation in the society, three conditions must be satisfied⁵. Firstly, there should be Pareto optimal allocation of goods among consumers. It requires that the marginal rate of substitution between two goods should be the same for all the consumers. In the Edgeworth diagram framework, Pareto optimal solution is represented by contract curve. Secondly, there should be productive efficiency in the allocation of various inputs. It requires that the marginal rate of technical substitution between different inputs should be the same in all the lines of production. Thirdly, relative outputs of various goods should also be optimum. It implies that the marginal rate of substitution between two outputs should be in the ratio of the social marginal cost of production of these two goods.

If the above three conditions are satisfied, the system will be Pareto optimal. The theorem of invisible hand states that under perfectly competitive market conditions, optimising behaviour on the part of consumers and firms lead to an efficient (Pareto optimal) social output.⁶ Under perfect competition, above conditions imply that price should always be equal to the marginal costs in all the sectors of the economy for Pareto optimality.⁷

It has already been pointed out that the basic postulates of Paretian value judgements have been disputed. Even if we ignore it, a fundamental weakness of this analysis is that it is based on a given distribution of income. Here distribution of income has been taken as satisfactory and so, implicitly justified. Thus the above theory advocates the status quo. The Paretian approach can be considered to be welfare economists' instrument par excellence for the circumvention of this issue.⁸

2. (ii) Total Surplus Maximisation

The partial equilibrium framework is convenient at the operational level. Here welfare economists advocate maximisation of the sum of consumer plus producer surplus i.e. the total surplus. The notion of willingness to pay and also consumer's surplus go back to the engineer named Jules Dupuit⁹. He pointed out that the value of a given unit of a product is more than what the user actually pays for that unit. Willingness to pay may be taken as an index of marginal utility derived from the consumption of that unit of the product. Hotelling¹⁰ reviewed Dupuit's ideas. He articulated the basic case for using area under the demand curve as a surrogate for consumer benefits associated with consumption. Dupuit defined consumer's surplus as a difference between what consumer may be willing to pay for a given amount of a good and the actual price paid for the commodity. The

producer's surplus may be defined as the total revenue minus the area under the marginal cost curve. It can easily be demonstrated that total surplus maximisation implies that prices should be equal to the marginal cost of supplies.^{12a}

2. (iii) The Theory of Second Best

The term 'second best' is applied to an economy in which at least one of the assumptions defining the first best (perfectly competitive market) is violated. In reality, the market is by and large imperfect. Market imperfections arise from the element of monopoly, external economies and uncertainty etc. All economic agents have to take current decisions in the light of incomplete information about the future price, tastes and technological possibilities. Lipsey and Lancaster¹¹ showed that if Pareto optimal conditions are not satisfied in the rest of the economy, marginal cost pricing in one enterprise will not lead to optimal allocation of resources :

It is well known that the attainment of Paretian optimum requires the simultaneous fulfilment of all the optimum conditions. The general theory of second best optimum states that if there is introduced into a general equilibrium system, a constraint which prevents the attainment of one of the Paretian conditions, the other optimum conditions, although still attainable, are in general, no longer desirable. In other words, given that one of the Paretian optimum conditions can not be fulfilled, then an optimum situation can be achieved only by departing from all the other paretian conditions. The optimum situation finally attained may be termed as a second best optimum because it is achieved subject to a constraint which, by definition, prevents the attainment of a Paretian optimum.¹²

Thus, they showed that in a second best situation, welfare may not increase by fulfilling first order optimum conditions in some of the sectors. "To apply to only a small part of an economy welfare rules which would lead to a paretian optimum if they were applied everywhere, may move the economy away from, not towards, a second best optimum position."¹³

But this raises the question of whether, at the policy level, all departures from the optimum conditions are to be viewed as being of equal importance. The purpose of pricing rule is that it should provide consumers with as much information as possible about the resource effects of their consumption decisions so that the cost to the consumer of his consumption decision reflect the cost to the enterprise.¹⁴ Davis and Whinston¹⁵ have suggested that we need not take note of non-optimal pricing of those enterprises which are remotely related to the enterprise under consideration. They advocated piecemeal approach. We need to consider prices of complementary and substitute goods only. Some economists have advocated that the deviant sector should be directly influenced to follow a rational pricing policy rather than to regulate public enterprise to achieve that end¹⁶. The effect of revenue constraints have been examined by Ramsey¹⁷, Rees¹⁸, Baumol and Bradford¹⁹ and Turvey.²⁰ There is

consensus on this point that price has to be related one way or the other to marginal cost if efficiency has to be achieved.²¹

3. Marginal Pricing in Practice

In the preceding Section, we have shown that in a market economy, perfectly competitive market leads to Pareto-optimal allocation of resources in the general equilibrium framework. If efficiency conditions are satisfied in the rest of the economy it was shown that total surplus maximisation also implies marginal cost based pricing. In the standard text-book definition of marginal cost, it is defined as a first order derivative of the total cost function. The total cost function may be defined as a minimum cost of producing the given level of output at a given set of prices. It is considered to be continuous, single valued and monotonic function of output. In the production process, if some factors are assumed to be fixed, the function is called short-run cost function. If all inputs are variable the cost function is called long run cost function. The short and long run marginal cost functions can be defined accordingly. The under-lying production function of these cost functions is assumed to be linear, homogeneous and technologically innocent.²²

To operationalise marginal cost for pricing purpose, it needs to be dynamised. Boiteux²³ and Turvey²⁴ have made significant breakthrough in this direction. Boiteux incorporated technological change by evolving concepts of total expenditure curves and development cost functions. Turvey defined marginal cost as the "excess of the present worth in that year of the system cost, with a unit permanent output increment starting then, over the present worth in that year of the system cost with a unit permanent output increment postponed to the following year."²⁵

There has been a protracted debate whether price should equal short-run marginal cost or long-run marginal cost. Here the contributions of French economists working in Eletricité de France are significant. They resolved the confusion between short-run and long-run marginal cost by supplementing the discussion of marginal cost pricing with the theory of investment planning.²⁶ It was established that if optimal investment planning is followed when plant is perfectly divisible and there is a continuous equilibrium, the price which is set equal to short run marginal cost will simultaneously equal long run marginal cost. Investment in additional capacity is worthwhile if the incremental social benefits exceed the incremental social costs. It may be noted that choosing an investment programme by maximisation of net present value of social benefit is, in the first best economy, exactly equal to choosing an investment programme by marginal cost pricing.²⁷ The investment rule which is implied in marginal cost pricing is that if price is used as rationing device, when market equilibrium price exceeds long run marginal cost, new investment is socially desirable.

Another question needs to be resolved. What is the base to which price should be related when industry is out of equilibrium? Turvey and Boiteux have argued that

price should signal to the consumer the resource cost of supplying additional unit of the commodity. By this logic price should equal long run marginal cost even in the disequilibrium situation. If price equal to long run marginal cost leads to excess capacity, still price should be made to equal marginal costs to avoid distortions in resource allocation, though there may be some loss of consumer's surplus. If price equal to marginal cost leads to scarcity, physical rationing may be preferred to rationing by price and additional investment be made.²⁸ Consumers make purchases on the assumption that the relative prices of substitutes will be maintained and the existing price structure will continue. So, frequent price changes may be resented and may be harmful.

Indivisibilities pose another problem. Williamson has shown that in the presence of indivisibilities, the optimal capacity is not found by equating price simultaneously with short run and long run costs. In general, if there are indivisibilities, the optimal price will either exceed or fall short of long run marginal cost.²⁹ Thus, the enterprise will be either incurring losses or making profit. However, if additions to the existing system, are small in comparison with the existing system indivisibility does not pose any serious problem as the cost curves may be assumed to be smooth curves.

4. Peak and Off-peak Load Pricing

The output of some of the public enterprises is non-storable and has to be produced instantaneously to meet the demand as and when it arises. The demand for the product may also have variations over the daily as well as seasonal demand cycles. In such a situation, it may not be technically feasible to vary the capacity to optimal size. In such a situation, enterprise needs to evolve a pricing policy which will ensure fuller utilisation of the existing capacity at off peak as well as peak periods and also ensure that the installed capacity is of appropriate size. As the demand at peak periods is different from off-peak hours, we can assume that the enterprise is facing two distinct demand functions. The problem of peak load pricing gets reduced to the problem of allocation of joint cost which arises due to indivisibilities of the installed capacity. Peter Steiner made a distinction between firm peak and shifting peak cases. He concluded that if the peak is firm, once the appropriate capacity is determined the output in each period should be extended to that capacity unless additional units of outputs fail to cover the operating cost. The above analysis suggest that in the off peak period, the price should equal running cost whereas in peak period, it should equal long run marginal cost. If price equal to long run marginal cost leads to shortage, capacity should be expanded. If peak is shifting and not firm, then price elasticity of demand during peak and off peak periods will have to be taken into account.³⁰ Hirshleifer accepted Steiner's model and simplified it by giving a diagrammatic presentation. The solution for shifting peak case involves differential pricing according to the relative strength of the demand for the output per sub-period. Since the cost of supply is joint to both sub-periods, new investment is worthwhile so

long as the sum of the differences between price and the operating cost per period exceeds the cost of providing a new unit of capacity for the demand cycle.³¹ The above analysis relates to only two equal duration periods. Williamson has generalised and extended above analysis to any number of equal duration periods. Williamson casts his model in general equilibrium framework and provides welfare motivation to his model.

The analysis of the peak load pricing problem has been extended in many directions. Michael Crew and Paul Kleidorfar treat simultaneously periodic demand, diverse technology, demand uncertainty and rationing costs in a consistent framework for determining both efficient prices and an optimal investment plan.³² They establish that the optimal price in each period should be equal to the expected marginal operating cost plus expected rationing cost. In reality demand cycle does not typically divide into two or three distinct parts but consists of demand changing every moment. In such a situation one has to decide about the number of sub-periods to be included in the price structure. The choice will have to take two things into consideration. Firstly, the cost of implementation and administration and secondly, the ease with which consumer can appreciate the price policy. Though demand may not be uniform during each sub-period, one price will have to be charged which may be the average for that period. No general rules can be laid down to solve this problem.³³

5. Uncertainty

The above analysis assumes that before price and production capacity are determined, demand is perfectly known. But this is not true in reality. Therefore, the problem of uncertainty has to be resolved. If demand is uncertain, disturbance term may be introduced in the peak as well as off peak demand functions. Brown and Johnson have established that if income distribution aspect is not taken into consideration, appropriate price policy is that which clears the market when demand is at its lowest peak position.³⁴ If quality of service is also to be considered, the provision may be made explicitly in the demand function.

Another approach to solve the problem of uncertainty is to determine the optimal size of the capacity margin. In the plant, a margin of additional capacity may be kept to meet unforeseen breakdowns or higher demands. Given the firm's estimate of the probability distribution of future demands, it will weight up the cost of an addition to inventory. We expect to end up roughly at a point at which the cost of the marginal additions to inventory is just equal to the cost of expected loss of not making the additions to the margin.³⁵ In other words, when extra cost of increased reliability is equal to the probable cost of the inconvenience caused by the shortage, the reserve margin is adequate.

The uncertainty may manifest in the cost function also. It may be taken into consideration by introducing fuel adjustment clause in the price-structure to ensure that fuel price changes are reflected in price as well.

6 Pricing in the Developing Economies

We have so far examined various extensions of public pricing in relation to the efficient allocation of resources. However, distortions due to monopolistic market structure, externalities, various taxes and subsidies are very acute in the developing economies like India. Therefore, market prices don't reflect true social costs. In such a situation while computing long-run marginal costs, it has been suggested that one should use shadow prices which represent the real social costs.³⁶

Another line of argument is that public enterprises in countries like India are supposed to help initiate and sustain the process of rapid economic development with social justice. For this they should help the process of accumulation for which surplus maximising price should be charged.³⁷

We suggest the long-run marginal cost based on shadow prices should provide the reference point for the pricing policy in the public enterprises. All the other adjustments in the price structures thus evolved may be made thereafter on the basis of the socio-economic objectives with which the enterprise has been brought into existence. However, if any class of consumers has to be subsidised, it is not the public enterprise which should be expected to bear the financial burden and land in a financial crisis as is happening in India. The financial cost of subsidies should be borne by the Government and the enterprise should be paid from the General exchequer.

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Comparison of Multivariate Corporate Failure Prediction Models—A case study

S. C. SHARMA

The conventional tools like the ratio analysis, trend ratios, common-size statements, comparative statements, etc. are used to analyse the financial statements to evaluate performance, to assess solvency and to predict sickness of an enterprise. A new statistical technique known as multivariate corporate failure prediction model has been devised mainly to predict corporate failure, but the technique is equally useful to evaluate solvency of an enterprise as well. The pioneering work has been done in U.S.A. by E.I. Altman. M/S Taffler and Tisshaw have also developed similar model in U.K. Both the models have been used in the present study.

Multiple Discriminate Analysis—M.D.A. Model

This model was developed by Prof. Altman in U.S. with a view to knowing the prediction of corporate failure by simultaneous consideration of various indicators in the prediction model. The model is also called 'Z' model. It comes into being by incorporating a number of financial ratios in a multivariate approach using a statistical technique known as multiple discriminate analysis (M.D.A.). The author of the model gave the following formula :

$$Z^1 = .012 X_1 + .014 X_2 + .033 X_3 + .006 X_4 + .999 X_5 \text{ Where}$$

X_1 = Working capital/total assets (a liquidity measure).

X_2 = retained earnings/total assets (a measure for reinvested earnings).

X_3 = earnings before interest and taxes/total assets (a profitability measure).

X_4 = market value of equity/book value of total debt (a measure of leverage).

X_5 = sales/total assets (a measure for the sales-generating ability of firm's assets).

He tested his model and found its power of prediction to be 96%. For Altman's sample, the cut off points were as follows :

"All firms that had a Z score greater than 2.99 fell into non-bankrupt class, while all firms that had a Z score smaller than 1.81 were bankrupt."² "A range of 1.81 to 2.99 is called as zone of ignorance, i.e., a company is likely to go bankrupt (if Z score remains less than 2.675) or likely to remain as a going concern (if Z score remains more than 2.675)."³ The firms, whose Z score remains between 1.81 and 2.99, require further analysis to determine their solvency status. The Z score between 1.81 and 2.99 thus acts as the zone of ignorance with 2.675 as the cut-off point.

Application of the Model

The model has been used on the financial statements of Modi Spinning and Weaving Mills Co. Ltd, Modi Nagar, U.P. for the period from 1974 to 1979. The market value of the equity is considered as the average market value of equity as specified in the Bombay Stock Exchange Directory and the market value of preference share is presumed as par value of the share for computing the value of X^4 . Table 1 gives the value of Z score based on Altman's model.

As the Z score remained more than 1.81 throughout the period under study, the company remained above the bankruptcy zone. However, it remained under the zone of ignorance during 1974, 1978 and 1979 as Z score in these years remained less than 2.99. Since the Z score remained over 2.75 during these years the company continued to remain a going concern though a thorough analysis is required in these years as the Z score lies within the zone of ignorance. The company is likely to remain as a going concern in the near future as well.

By comparing the values of X_1 to X_5 horizontally over the period under study, we can locate the areas causing Z score to decline. In 1974, Z score was hardly 2.75 due to low values of X_2 and X_5 (i.e., low retained earnings and low sales turnover respectively in relation to total sales over other years), causing the Z score to lie within the zone of ignorance.

In 1975, the Z score improved to 2.92, though it still remained in the zone of ignorance since X_3 (i.e., retained earnings to total assets) remained low.

The Z score in 1976 increased to 3.08. The company succeeded in coming out of the zone of ignorance. The ingredients of the model reveal that the value of X_1 (i.e., working capital/total assets relation) remained poor due to low working capital. The Z score remained 3.074 in 1977. The company succeeded in improving the working capital position during the year which is also reflected from the value of X_1 . The value of X_3 (i.e., earnings of the firm), however, declined. Accordingly, the management should give due attention towards increasing the profitability of the company.

During 1978, value of X_3 (i.e., earnings) declined further due to low assets turnover, as is reflected by the value of X_5 . These factors forced the company to go in the zone of ignorance as Z score became as low as 2.865.

In 1979, Z score remained the same as it was in 1978 in spite of further decline in the working capital and assets turnover. It is quite evident from the low values of X_1 and X_5 . The retained earnings and profitability of the company, however, improved and is well reflected by the values of X_2 and X_3 .

Evaluation : The company remained in the zone of ignorance during 1978 and 1979 due to decline in the working capital ratio as also the low turnover of assets.

The management should, therefore, create more sales in the coming years. It should raise additional capital to improve its working capital position so as to come out of the zone of ignorance in the years to come.

Linear Discriminant Analysis (L.D.A. Model)

M/S Taffler and Tisshaw have developed Z model in U.K. by incorporating a number of financial ratios. The technique is known as linear discriminant analysis (L.D.A.). It is also designed to predict the corporate failure. The Z score is computed as :

$$Z = C_0 + .53 R_1 + .13 R_2 + .18 R_3 + .16 R_4, \text{ where}^4$$

C_0 = a constant

R_1 = profit before tax/current liability (a profitability measure to honour its current commitment through its earning capacity).

R_2 = current asset

total liability (a measure of working capital).

R_3 = current liability

total assets (a measure of financial leverage).

R_4 = immediate asset-current liability

operating cost-depreciation

(and it tells time for which company can finance its operations from its immediate assets if all other short-term sources are cut off).

The measurements of the model are that if Z score remains below zero, the company is in the danger zone. The plus (+) score indicates solvency of the company. The model was tested by M/S Taffler and Tisshaw in 46 failed companies and it gave negative result in 45 companies well before (i.e., 4 years) their failure. Since the value of C_0 in this model is based on local business conditions, the cut-off occurs at zero score.

Application of the Model in India

Since the value of C_0 in Taffler and Tisshaw model is based on the local business factors which are not known, Mr. Bhaskar Banerjee tested the Taffler and Tisshaw model by eliminating the value of C_0 —a constant so that the cut off point does not come to zero. He used the formula as :

$$Z = 0.53 R_1 + .13 R_2 + .18 R_3 + .16 R_4^5$$

He tested the modified model on 29 companies, of which 11 were sick, selected with the help of IRCI. He observed that Z score for sick companies ranged between +20,nd zero, and for solvent companies between 0.14 to 1.04. Thus, Z score whane

between 0.1 to 0.3 appeared to be the zone of ignorance with cut off point as 0.2, the company is likely to remain sick if Z score remains below 0.2, and a going concern if it remains above 0.2. There is a possibility of error in the classification in this zone.

Application of L.D.A —Model in Modi Spinning and Weaving Mills Company Limited

We have used the L.D.A. model as modified by Bhaskar Banerjee, presuming his findings to be accurate. The tool is applied on the financial statements of Modi Spinning and Weaving Mills Company Limited for the period 1974 to 1979. The following table gives the value of 'Z' scores.

Z	=	.53 R ₁	+.13 R ₂	+.18 R ₃	+.16 R ₄	
1974	=	.13	+ .12	+ .1	+ .008	= .358
1975	=	.1	+ .12	+ .1	+ .006	= .325
1976	=	.11	+ .12	+ .1	+ .003	= .333
1977	=	.05	+ .12	+ .09	+ .008	= .268
1978	=	.03	+ .12	+ .1	+ .006	= .256
1979	=	.07	+ .12	+ .1	+ .004	= .294

The value of Z score remained quit tolerable in 1974, 1975 and 1976. During 1977, 1978 and 1979, the Z score remained less than 0.3 and the company remained in the zone of ignorance. Since the Z score remained above 0.2 over the entire period under study, the company is likely to remain a going concern in the near future also. By comparing the values of R₁ to R₄ over years, we can locate the reasons responsible for the poor performance.

During 1974, Z score was 0.358 which was over 0.3. The performance of the company, therefore, remained quite satisfactory. In 1975, Z score declined to 0.326, as R₁ and R₄ (i.e., profitability and working capital) had fallen. The performance of the company remained satisfactory as the Z score was over 0.3.

The Z score improved slightly in 1976 as R₁ (i.e., profitability) had improved a bit but R₄ (i.e., working capital) had declined considerably. The management should give due attention towards improving the working capital.

In 1977, Z score of the company declined to 0.268. It came in the zone of ignorance as R₁ declined considerably in spite of the significant improvement in the working capital R₄. The Z score declined further to 0.256 in 1978 as the profitability and working capital of the company declined considerably. This is evident from the reduced values of R₁ and R₄ respectively.

In 1979, Z score showed considerable improvement and became 0.296 as a result of improvement in the profitability. The working capital position, however, deteriorated further. This is evident from the values of R₁ and R₄.

Evaluation : The company remained in the zone of ignorance during the last 3 years due to scarcity of working capital and fall in the profitability rate as is evident from the values of R_1 and R_4 . These areas require immediate attention of the management so that the company may come out of the zone of ignorance in the years to come.

Comparison of the results of M.D.A. and L.D.A. Models

If we compare the results of Modi Spinning and Weaving Mills Company Limited obtained from these two models, we observe a few similarities and dissimilarities. These are as under :

**Z Score of Modi Spinning and Weaving Mills
Company Limited in M.D.A. and L.D.A. Models**

Year	M.D.A.	L.D.A.
1974	2.75	.368
1975	2.92	.326
1976	3.08	.333
1977	3.074	.266
1978	2.86	.256
1979	2.86	.294
Zone of ignorance	1.81 to 2.99	.1 to .3
Cut off point	2.675	.2

Similarities

1. The cut off point in Altman's model is 2.675, while in Banerjee's model, it is 0.2. As the results obtained from both the models remained above the cut off points, both the models indicate that the firm is likely to remain a "going concern" in the near future.
2. Both the models indicate that company's performance remained quite satisfactory in 1976, as the Z score remained above the zone of ignorance in both of them.
3. Both the models reflect a declining trend in Z score from 1976 to 1978. But the decline is more steep in the L.D.A. model because of considerable fall in the profitability of the company during these two years. The weight assigned to profitability measure in L.D.A. model is as high as 53%. That is why it showed a steep decline in relation to M.D.A. model which lays more emphasis on assets turnover.
4. In 1979, L.D.A. model reflects slight improvement in the Z score while it remained stagnant in M.D.A. model due to the fact that profitability of the company improved significantly. Since L.D.A. model gives more weightage to the profitability aspect, it is but natural that Z score in L.D.A. model should have showed a better performance in 1979. Both the models, however, reflect that the company lies in the zone of ignorance.

Dissimilarities

In 1974 and 1975, both the models are showing contradictory results. The L.D.A. model reveals that the company is above the zone of ignorance, while M.D.A. model reveals that it comes within the zone of ignorance. This difference in the result exists mainly because of the difference in the emphasis on different ratios in the two models. The L.D.A. model lays more emphasis on profitability as is evident from the weightage assigned to R_1 , while the M.D.A. model lays more emphasis on the total assets turnover X_5 . In 1975, Z score of M.D.A. model remained higher than that of 1974 since assets turnover improved considerably. It is quite evident from the value of X_5 . The Z score under L.D.A. showed a declining value of Z score in 1975 in relation to 1974 as the profitability declined. This is also evident from the value of R_1 . The same difference exists in 1977 as well. The M.D.A. model reveals that the company remained out of the zone of ignorance since its assets turnover remained better. It is evident from the value of X_5 . The L.D.A. model reveals that profitability during 1977 declined considerably. It is reflected from the value of R_1 . The company, thus, remained in the zone of ignorance.

Conclusion

The two Z models lay emphasis on different factors, though the main emphasis, in M.D.A. model is on assets turnover, while in L.D.A. model it is on the profitability (i.e., pre-tax profit current liability). In spite of this basic difference, both the models indicate common views with regard to zone of ignorance for most of the years. In 1976, both the models indicate that Z score remained above the zone of ignorance. There is some variation in the results obtained from the two models due to variation in emphasis. Both the models have the ability to indicate not only the present solvency of the company but also have the power of predicting as many as 5 years in advance in most of the cases. It is further observed that if the models are applied over the last 5-6 years and movements of the ingredients of the models are watched horizontally they do indicate the areas of trouble requiring corrective action. If the results of Z score come in the zone of ignorance, whether or not a company is pushed into it in the coming year, depends not only on its own effort to pull itself out of the danger zone, but also on the action taken by its creditors, bankers and the Government which cannot be visualised by statistical models of this nature.

Evaluation of Multivariate Models

These models have been weighed by statistical methodology because of the multivariate nature of the models. The technique has the advantage of conveying in a single numerical index which can be readily interpreted by avoiding the problems of conventional ratio analysis and other devices which help form an overall opinion. The models have the power of prediction for as early as 5 years. However, the ability of these models to predict the failure is less conclusive because of the use of "arbitrary weights to the ratios selected and to com-

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bine them into an index number. The procedure implies a homogeneity and precise significance that ratios cannot possibly⁸ possess. The multivariate models provide insight even to those who do not understand them. Myer has rightly said, "how seductive statistical methods may become to one who does not properly understand them."⁷ In spite of these statistical shortcomings, these models are "capable of providing an early warning at least two to three years before bankruptcy. Such a warning system obviously has important uses: Lenders may use failure prediction models in the process of credit evaluation, investors may use such models for portfolios election, management may use the models to evaluate the firm's solvency position and take corrective measures."⁸

Table 1

**Z Score of Modi Spinning and Weaving Mills Company Limited
for the period 1974 to 1979**

Z	= .012X ₁	+ .014 X ₂	+ .033 X ₃	+ .066 X ₄	+ .999 X ₅ **
1974	= .95	+ .196	+ .581	+ .173	+ .171 = 2.75
1975	= .94	+ .217	+ .491	+ .191	+ 1.934 = 2.92
1976	= .05	+ .26	+ .53	+ .195	+ 2.05 = 3.08
1977	= .12	+ .26	+ .40	+ .194	+ 2.10 = 3.04
1978	= .09	+ .26	+ .37	+ .37	+ 1.97 = 2.86
1979	= .07	+ .27	+ .50	+ .16	+ 1.86 = 2.86

**Baruch Lev, *op.cit.*, p. 146. Note No 41—that the ratios X_1 to X_4 should be expressed in absolute percents. Thus, for example, a working capital/total assets ratio of 20 per cent should be expressed in equation as 20.0. With respect to the fifth variable, X_5 , a sales/total assets ratio of 200 per cent should be expressed as 2.00.

ANALYTICAL FORM OF

Table 2. Balance Sheet of Modi Spinning and Weaving Mills Company Limited, Modi Nagar
for the year ended 30th April

Items	Rs. in thousands				
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
	Amount	Amount	Amount	Amount	Amount
Total Assets	236122	239867	245766	278100	307609
M					350982
A. Current Assets	155344	156628	153099	176382	195305
Cash & Bank Balance	13991	11138	8556	7973	8021
Maketable Securities	6094	8759	8778	8792	11770
Sundry Debtors	21509	15968	28040	29893	32925
Misc. current Assets	1501	1925	2900	2521	5936
Inventory	112249	118838	104825	127203	136653
Raw Material	58638	53317	27441	35094	45857
Semi and Finished goods	41600	53342	64160	73804	73289
Stores, Loose tools, etc.	12011	12179	13224	20305	17507
B. Fixed Assets (Net) :	80714	82720	92042	100068	110561
Gross Block	159147	168879	184580	202216	222277
Land & Building	39944	41240	42669	45337	48044
Plant & Machinery	104574	111521	117073	133999	144349
Other Assets	14629	16118	24838	22880	29884
Less : Depreciation	78433	86159	92538	102148	111716
C. Misc. Assets	8	8	8	708	715
D. Intangible Assets	56	511	617	942	1028
Total Liabilities	166289	165966	163492	189570	212537
					245706

E. Current Liabilities					
Loan & Advances	136507	142144	148021	171628	207123
Sundry Creditors	62330	62607	66554	93548	103569
Provisions	41590	51226	61597	61919	77705
Taxation	26610	22738	15318	12361	21348
Dividend	23967	16510	9033	7378	16039
Misc. current Liability	3658	6228	6285	4983	5309
	5978	5573	4552	3600	4500

F. Deferred Liabilities

Long term loans	23551	18572	41549	40909	38584
Provision for employees	6231	2776	—	—	—
G. Net Worth					
Equity Share capital	69823	82274	88530	95072	105276
Preference Share Cap.	39247	32552	32564	32564	32564
Capital Reserves	4500	4500	4500	4500	4500
Revenue Reserves :	666	742	742	742	742
Sinking fund reserves	32410	44480	50724	57266	67470
Statutory Dev. Reserve	3500	4500	4500	4500	4500
Free Reserves	10815	7070	10120	11505	14590
	18095	32910	36104	41261	48380

Table 3. Income Statement of Modi Spinning and Weaving Mills Company Limited, Modi Nagar for the year ended 30th April

I. Non-operating Surplus	3244	6581	5570	5512
Income & surplus	3506	7340	5986	5924
Expenses & Losses	262	759	416	412
G. Pre-tax profit	32973	14048	9812	27662
H. Provision for taxation	21650	5000	4800	15500
Net Profit	11323	9048	5012	12162
Net Profit	11323	9048	5012	12162
J. Dividend Distributed :	3652	6235	4983	6309
On Equity shares	3224	5857	4555	4881
On Preference shares	428	428	428	428
K. Profit retained	7671	2763	29	6853

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Paper presented at Seminar held at Calcutta in February, 1979 on prediction of sickness and revival of sick unit.
- 4 Bhaskar Banerjee, *op.cit.*, p. 1010.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 1011.
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The Emergence of Party Organization after Independence : A case study of Indian National Congress

S.C. ARORA

Before independence, the Congress was mainly a national movement, enlisting persons of various shades of opinion, with the sole purpose of achieving freedom from the foreign rule. With the attainment of this objective in August, 1947, the question concerning the future of the Congress came to the fore. Should it continue to serve the Indian people in free India or should it be dissolved? There was a divergence of opinion on this issue. One view was represented by Gandhi who believed that the Congress in its present shape and form had outlived its use. He wanted to keep it out of unhealthy competition with political parties and communal bodies. Therefore, he suggested to disband the existing Congress organization and its re-emergence as a 'Lok Sevak Sangh',¹ as association for the service of the people.

Morris-Jones² has succinctly summed up the reasons for this suggestion which are as follow :

Firstly, in the capacity of 'Lok Sevak Sangh', Congress could continue with those tasks already begun : the breaking down of the backward isolation of the untouchables, the softening of the hard lines between other castes, the rectification of certain other undesirable features of social life that worked against the dignity of man. It would be as if India could go back and take up again that programme of social reforms which her first awakened leaders had taken up in the early nineteenth century but which had been put aside pending the political settlement.

Secondly, for Gandhi, as for other members, the main object of the Congress organization was to gain independence from British rule, to achieve 'swaraj', literally self government or self-rule. But in Gandhi's way of looking at things, this was not a purely political task. Rather, the latter was, in fact, linked with and a condition of moral regeneration and social reconstruction. This work was evidently not that for which a political party, as normally understood, would be suited. Thus, after independence the Congress organization of Gandhi's vision would be able to concentrate its attention on its moral and social role.

Thirdly, during the freedom struggle, Gandhi had created and fostered an organization which insistently differed from a mere political party. It was not simply by

virtue of its total claims to speak for a national interest but also by that side of its activities which were designated as 'constructive work'. This was an object of 'swaraj' itself. It was understood not as mere political independence but as real self-rule through self-reliance. It covered the non-political part of the campaign for 'swadeshi'—the use of home made goods through encouragement to hand-spinning and the wearing of 'Khadi'. It extended to social reform with movement for prohibition and the uplift of untouchables. It included voluntary social welfare activities on health, hygiene and education.

Gandhi in his draft proposals submitted to the constitution committee on January 30, 1948 suggested that this part should become the whole and that politics should be left to others. It must have seemed to him that there was little in common between party politics and movement politics. In other words, overall national service, and not political management, was the chief purpose of the Congress organization. And therefore, the organization should properly move into a field where that meaning could be preserved. In this way, Gandhi showed his farsightedness. There was at least truth in the implied confession that his own distinctive contribution to Congress 'constructive work' and the techniques of 'satyagraha' or non-violent civil disobedience were not the stuff of which workday politics was made.

For these and other similar reasons, Gandhi presented his own vision of the Congress organization. He suggested that every panchayat of five adult men or women, being villagers or village minded shall form a unit. Two such contiguous panchayats shall form a working party under a leader elected from among themselves. When there were one hundred such panchayats, the fifty first grade leaders should elect from among themselves second grade leader and so on, the first grade leaders meanwhile working under second grade leaders. Parallel groups of two hundred panchayats shall continue to be formed till they covered the whole of India, each succeeding group of panchayats electing a second grade leader after the manner of the first. All second grade leaders shall serve jointly for the whole of India and separately for their respective areas. The second grade leaders were to elect, whenever they deemed necessary, from among themselves a chief who would, during pleasure, regulate and command all the groups.³

As the final formation of provinces or districts was still in a state of flux, no attempt was made to divide the group of servants into provincial or district councils. Jurisdiction over the whole of India vested in the group or groups that might have been formed at any given time. It should be noted that this body of servants derived their authority or power from service ungrudgingly and wisely done to their masters, in the whole of India.

This was Gandhi's last will and testament. It was indeed a valuable blueprint of a true democratic organization in which power was not concentrated at the top but

flowed from below i.e. from the masses inhabiting the seven lakh villages of India. This organizational pattern could not be fitted in any of the traditional theories of organization such as iron law of oligarchy, strataarchy and balkanisation. It presented the vision of decentralised mass-based people's party. It represented the masses in another respect also as only villagers or village minded persons were entitled to form the basic unit of this vast organization.

This pattern has a close affinity with the principle of 'democratic centralism' as it prevailed in parties of the communist systems. The democratic element consisted in the fact that two primary units i.e. panchayats formed a working party which elected the leader from among themselves. First grade leaders elected the second grade leaders who might further elect the chief if they deemed necessary. The elements of centralism lay in the fact that the chief during pleasure would regulate and command all groups. Similarly first grade leaders would work under the control and guidance of second grade leaders. But these affinities do not lead us to conclude that this organizational set up was purely based on the principle of 'democratic centralism' of communist parties. The main difference between the two lay in the fact that there were no clear cut hierarchies in the former as in the latter.

The above proposals of Gandhi were too much radical in their conception and scope and meant a clean sweep of the past. The Congress leaders reacted sharply to these proposals. In August, 1947, Shankarrao Deo, general secretary of the Congress, issued a circular to all P.C.Cs. on the "Future Role of the Congress" which read:

"If India's destiny is to be fulfilled and it has to take its proper place in the community of nations then its unity is essential, and there is no other organization more fitted for this difficult task than the Congress. Its need is, therefore, greater than before. Besides at this most critical period in her history India requires for its gradual and orderly political, social and economic all round progress, one big political party large enough to guarantee a stable government and strong enough organizationally to maintain its hold and influence over the people."⁴

The justification for the continuance of the Congress party organization lay in the fact that it alone could answer all these requirements. The Congress proved its capacity to adapt itself to the needs of the changing times. A fresh historic task had to be taken up without any break in the life of the Congress. The circular further read:

"How can Congressmen ever think of dissipating enormous political assests? No other party, new or old, has a chance to build up a tradition and following of the same might and magnitude for many years to come. The Congress alone can take up for stupendous task of bringing about a peaceful and social revolution and inspire confidence and trust in the people."⁵

The circular further added—and Nehru subsequently stressed this on many occasions—that the Congress had the moral obligation to fulfil its pledges in economic and social matters. The Congress in its various resolutions had promised to the masses fundamental rights, economic freedom, elimination of exploitation of any kind, uplift of workers and peasants. However, when power came into its hands, it could not abdicate its responsibility.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya, the then Congress President, also supported the continuation of the existing organization. He argued :

“In the vast field of economic and social work, the preservation of purity in public life, the safeguarding of the interest of the lowly and the exploited, the integration of forces (latent and explicit), the scope for national and rural reconstruction, work by apostles of the Gandhian gospel, is immense. Only the Congress with its experiences and ambitions can answer the need.”⁷

There was another and more fundamental reason put forward by Ramana Rao, which called for the continued existence of the Congress. The history of the Congress, the resolutions it had passed, the pronouncements and activities of its leaders, notably Gandhi's, had all pointed to a wider and deeper objective viz., the political, social and economic emancipation of the poverty-stricken masses of India. While political freedom had come, social and economic freedom was yet to be a reality. The Congress had come to be identified with people's aspirations. It was hoped that the Congress had to achieve more by continuing to function on a wider plane and for a broader objective.⁸

Thus, Gandhi's suggestion to transform the Congress into a 'Lok Sevak Sangh' did not find favour with the Congress leadership. In fact, Gandhi was mistaken when he thought that the other leaders would be willing to the dismantling of what could become a powerful political machine having manifold political benefits in its fold. Whatever reasons may be given for not accepting Gandhi's advice, the truth is that in their heart of hearts Congress leaders did not want to lose power and perks which came within their reach after India became independent.

Though the Gandhian proposals were laid gently aside, the issue, to quote Morris-Jones, has never been wholly stilled. Like the sayings of Vinoba Bhave, the Gandhian vision of a 'Lok Sevak Sangh' hangs as a reference point in the sky above politics, and gives inspiration at awkward times.⁹

Thus, after the attainment of independence, Congress ceased to be a movement and became the ruling party with an extensive organization at its back. Its objective was also changed from the attainment of independence to that of making independence solid and long enduring through rapid economic progress and the strengthening of democratic institutions. The method of achieving these goals was also changed from defying governmental authority to legitimising it through popular elections and popular assemblies.¹⁰

In short, with the coming of independence the context of politics was altogether transformed. From being a national movement of protest the Congress emerged as the ruling party. The process of transforming the Congress from a movement for national independence to the position of a ruling party began with the elimination from its rank of organized groups not amenable to control by the leadership and ended with the final subordination of the organization to the leadership in 1951. The first to depart following the prohibition on organized groups within the Congress were the Socialists, followed by Acharya Kripalani and his associates in 1951, and subsequently by a numerous body of persons who were either distressed by the course of the Congress politics or found its ideological shifts unacceptable or were disappointed in their search for power and positions.¹¹

As a result of the change in the Congress objective, its constitution had to be recast and the organization had to be overhauled. As noted earlier, Gandhi had a new vision of the Congress. He gave vent to it by drawing it away from the political world and converting it into a 'Lok Sevak Sangh'. This plea of Gandhi was not acceptable to Congress leadership. So, at the Jaipur Session of 1948, Congressmen unhesitatingly dissented from Gandhi's fundamental approach of disbanding the existing organization.

However, in line with Gandhi's thinking, some organizational changes were envisaged to rejuvenate the party and to make it fit to carry on the arduous task of social reconstruction and economic recovery of the Indian people. Some new articles were added to its constitution which made provision for new form of enrolment of members, election of representatives, qualification of voters and candidates, formation of Congress panchayats, the constitution of higher committees and settlement of disputes and parliamentary organization.¹² Besides, it was after the Jaipur Session of the Congress that the P.C.Cs were advised to frame their own constitutions in conformity with the changes in the constitution of the party and to receive guidance from the A.I.C.C. office to ensure uniformity.

A three-tier membership-primary, qualified and effective-was then introduced. The primary member from then onwards had to pay on fee but to sign the Congress pledge. They were qualified to take part only in the elections to the Village Congress Panchayat, the basic unit of the organization. The second category of Congressmen were qualified members who had to be habitual wearers of certified 'khadi' made from hand spun yarn and teetotallers. They had to pay an annual fee of Re. 1/- only. A qualified member was deemed to be an effective member provided he devoted regularly a part of his time to some form of national and constructive work as laid down by the Congress from time to time.¹³

Thus, the Congress organization wanted to build up a cadre—a viable unit of its own members with a solid base of its graded supporters. The complex provision for membership that the constitution adopted, aimed at synthesising the Congress as a political party with the Congress of Gandhi's dream of a 'Lok Sevak Sangh'.¹⁴ The qualifications laid down for an effective member in the new Congress constitution were practically the same as those which were prescribed by Gandhi for the workers of the proposed 'Lok Sevak Sangh.' Except for the election of the Congress panchayat for which qualified membership was needed for all higher Congress committees or bodies effective membership was essential.¹⁵

As already stated, the basic unit of the Congress organization was the Primary Congress Panchayat. This was done owing to the influence of Gandhi who wanted village panchayat as the basis of this organization. With this an attempt was made to organize activities at the grass-root level.

As a step towards activating the organization triennial instead of annual election of all Congress committees were provided¹⁶ so that the work could be carried on without interruption or change of policies. The new bodies called the Parliamentary Board and the Central Election Committee were to be set up as the sub-committees of the Working Committee, with effective authority in their spheres of action. The Provincial Election Committee was to be constituted by the Provincial Congress Committee.¹⁷ Besides this, Credentials Committees and Election Tribunals, both at the provincial and the district level, were formed with adequate powers in their respective spheres.¹⁸

These changes evoked wide criticism. Acharya Narendra Deo characterised the amended constitution as "a poor and incomplete copy of the draft prepared by M. Gandhi".¹⁹ But according to N.G. Ranga, a member of the Working Committee, the constitution had incorporated Gandhi's most revolutionary suggestion in that the structure of the Congress depended upon the willing cooperation of the entire adult male and female population of the country.

In this way, a serious attempt had been made to tie up the loose ends of the organization and make it a disciplined and well-knit structure. The structure of the Congress party organization as it emerged after independence is depicted through Chart I :

CHART I

STRUCTURAL CHART (1984)*

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Parliamentary Board

Congress President and 5 members appointed by the W.C.

Subjects Committee

A.I.C.C. meets as Subjects Committee two days before each Annual Congress Session.

Working Committee

Congress President, treasurer and 18 members including one or more secretaries.

All-India Congress Committee

1/8th members elected by delegates of each P.C.C.; President and ex-President of the Congress, treasurer and rep. of affiliated associations.
Annual Congress Session
elected delegates, President & ex-Presidents of the Congress & rep. of affiliated associations.

Provincial Election Tribunal

3 to 5 members elected by PCC.

District Election Tribunal

Provincial Congress Committee

delegates from the province, President & ex-Presidents of the Congress, ex-president of the PCC. & co-opted members.

District Congress Committee

to be organized by the PCC concerned.

Primary Congress Panchayat

to be organised by the PCC concerned

Membership

Primary

Qualified

Effective

Central Election Committee

Parliamentary Board and 5 members elected by the AICC.

Provincial Election Committee

elected by PCC.

Provincial Credentials Committee

3 to 5 members elected by PCC.

District Credentials Committee

*Source : Constitution of the INC as adopted in 1948.

The Congress constitution of 1948 recognised three categories of members—primary, qualified and effective which formed the basis of the Congress organization. Primary members were entitled to vote at the election of Primary Congress Panchayat. All members of panchayats alongwith effective members were given the right to elect delegates and members of the Congress committees subordinate to the Provincial Congress Committees in accordance with the rules made in this behalf by the respective P.C.Cs. A qualified member was entitled to seek election to the Primary Congress Panchayat, but an effective member was made eligible for election to any Congress Committee.

The basic unit of the Congress party organization was the Primary Congress Panchayat covering an area comprising of 2500 adult voters on the list of governmental electoral rolls. It consisted of 3 to 10 qualified members of the area, provided there was not more than one member for every 250 adults. These members were to be directly elected by the primary members of the Congress. The Primary Congress Panchayat was to be formed subject to the condition that at least 8 per cent of the adult voters on the government rolls must have enrolled themselves as primary members.

Above the Primary Congress Panchayat there was to be the District Congress Committee and such intermediate committee as was to be decided by the Provincial Congress Committee. As the formation of these committees had been left to the discretion of the P.C.C., there could not be any uniformity in their composition. Also, there was District Credentials Committee formed by its provincial counterpart on the recommendation of the concerned D.C.C. The job of the District Credentials Committees was to examine applications for qualified membership of the Congress, hear objections, if any, and decide them. Besides, there was District Election Tribunal appointed by the Provincial Election Tribunal from the panel of members submitted to it by the respective D.C.C. to receive and decide disputes relating to the election of office-bearers and members of elective committees.

At the province level, there was to be the Provincial Congress Committee. There were as many as 23 P.C.Cs, each of them consisting of delegates elected from the province, members co-opted by the All-India Congress Committee, the president and ex-presidents of the Congress and the ex-presidents of the P.C.C. One of the important committees of the P.C.C. was the Pradesh Election Committee (P.E.C.) elected by the general meeting of the P.C.C. Its main function was to recommend the names of candidates for parliament and state legislatures to the Central Election Committee (C.E.C.) whose decision was to be final in this regard.

Another committee of the P.C.C. was to be the Provincial Credentials Committee which consisted of three to five members. These were to be elected by the general meeting of the P.C.C. by a majority of at least three-fourth of its members present and voting. The main function of this committee was to examine applications of effective

members, hear objections, if any, and decide them. Besides, there was to be a Pradesh Election Tribunal composed on the pattern of Provincial Credentials Committee. Its function was to receive and decide disputes relating to the election of office-bearers and members of elective committees.

At the national level, there was to be the Annual Congress Session. It included delegates elected by effective members of the Congress and members of Primary Village Panchayat in the proportion of one for every lakh of population and representatives of affiliated organizations. To work in between the Congress sessions, there was to be the All-India Congress Committee. It consisted of 1/8 members elected by each P.C.C. from among its members, the president and treasurer of the Congress, ex-presidents of the Congress if otherwise eligible and representatives of affiliated associations, the latter, exceeding not more than 1/10th of elected members. To assist it in various fields, the A.I.C.C. had subsidiary organizations like the Youth Congress, Seva Dal, Labour Congress in the form of Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh (subsequently converted into Indian National Trade Union Congress).

The A.I.C.C. met as Subjects Committee two days before the annual session of the Congress under the chairmanship of the President to discuss the programme and frame resolutions for being moved in the open session of the Congress.

The executive organ of the Congress party organization was to be the Working Committee consisting of the Congress President, treasurer and eighteen members including one or more secretaries appointed by the President, ordinarily from amongst the members of the A.I.C.C. But in special cases, a delegate not member of A.I.C.C. could be appointed on the condition of becoming a member of the A.I.C.C. within six months of his appointment as member of the Working Committee. It was also provided that the proportion of members on the Working Committee holding ministerial office was not to exceed one-third of the total membership of the committee.²⁰

To regulate and co-ordinate parliamentary activities of the Congress legislative parties, there was to be the Central Parliamentary Board (C.P.B.). It comprised of the Congress President and five other members with the President as its chairman. Besides, there was the Central Election Committee to be set up by the Working Committee. It consisted of Central Parliamentary Board and five other members elected by the A.I.C.C. Its main function was to conduct election campaign and make final selection of candidates for provincial and central legislatures. Finally, at the top of the organizational structure was the Congress President, elected by the delegates to the annual Congress session.

The above analysis clearly shows that organizational structure of the Congress party underwent important changes, both structural and otherwise, as a result of its turning from movement to a political party.

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Developmental Dimensions and Dynamics of Information Dissemination in Early Child Care Educational Programmes (ECCE)

S. N. SINHA

Early child care education : The art of stimulating interest in the pupil is important. Generally there is either a lack of it or it remains unaroused. Cultivation of interest already present seems desirable for the elicitation of socially approved conduct of the children. Interest arousal essentially then is the problem of motivational manipulation in early education. Motivational manipulation involves tinkering and toying with incentives and goals and eventually creating a conducive and congenial atmosphere for the pupil.

Educational system, in ancient India, with sprinkling of 'Panchtantra' and 'Hitopadasha', was conducive enough to elicit a congenial atmosphere, precluding the possibilities of flagging of interest of the early child learners. Furthermore, close contact and constant association with the guiding and goading of the 'Guru' in the 'Ashram' or the 'Gurukul' was an inbuilt motivational infrastructure constantly available to the pupils. Likewise, the Buddhists contributed to the development of cognitive capacities among young learners in their 'Sangas' and 'Vihars' by formulating a well developed system of monitoring the motivational and effective parameters in the dissemination of information, knowledge, abilities and skills. Early child care education in those days was centred around the development of stable and effective interpersonal relation, social skills. Its primary aim was promotion of a well developed quality of life.

References and citations of the ancient Indian educational system have been made in the retrograde direction, so as to relish and remain complacent about the glorious traditions and heritages of the past. The only reason of referring to these early systems is to assess the possibility as well as the viability after they have been adequately re-tested, re-structured and relevantly modified in the context of the existing educational settings.

The cardinal figure in the early child care education is a parent-surrogate figure who happens to be their teacher also. It is, therefore the developmental-relationship oriented, 'Learner-disseminator', dynamics which has several qualitative dimensions that needs surveillance and monitoring in ECCE. The climate of classroom or

its analogous generate the developmental dimension with ramifications of emotional, motivational relationship which provide the dynamic and functional regulators of the acceptance and adoption of information disseminations. Socio-emotional climate is a conglomerate of the following factors, (a) the quality of teacher-pupil relationship existing in the classroom like settings, (b) the pattern dyadic, triadic or multi-lateral relationship among learners, (c) relationship among the disseminator (peer) and itself with its own variegated vissitude, (d) Learners readiness for relative emphasis on co-operation Vs Competition and their emergent attitudinal complex towards teacher.

Modern educational technology today has dimensionalized the contact-re'ation-ship as integrative and dominative. The integrative contact entails four categories of teacher behaviour; i) accepts feeling; ii) praises and encourages; iii) accepts or uses the ideas of students; iv) promotes didactic discussions. Dominative contacts reflects three categories of teacher behaviour; (1) Entering or promoting rote learning; (2) giving directions as command; (3) criticizing or justifying authority.

The other aspect of the dynamics of developmental dimensions of E C C E involves the pupil or young learner who have very limited insight into their own understanding and awareness. Therefore, it relates to an important objective of the E C C E of developing a liking for learning by the learner. This process promotes the processing of cognitive information for various levels of ability, (i.e. Level I & Level II). **Level I ability** involves simple registration, storage, consolidation and later recall with a high degree of accuracy. The chief characteristics of Level I ability is that it involves no conscious or intentional transformation of the stimulus input prior to output. **Level II ability** on the other hand involves elaboration, manipulation and transformation of the informational input prior to an overt response. Processing of Level II ability involves more complex mental processes as generalization, abstraction, conceptualization and problem solving.

The ability level arousal of interest by learner has immense value in the diversification of educational plans and programmes at later stages. It would also provide an inbuilt infrastructure for vocationalization of education.

Improved dynamics of teacher-taught relationship tends to facilitate differentially the processing of abilities at both the levels i.e. Level I and Level II. More concrete and tangible gain would lie in promoting reading interests, components abilities as well as solutions of possible personality problems. It is in terms of child's developmental patterns that the teacher or the disseminator could adjust teaching so as to secure maximum progress and fulfill the expectancies, modulate the cognitive growth of the children in the E C C E programmes.

The brass-tack implications lies in providing the information dissemination process with pregnant pauses i.e. allowing more processing time by such verbal statements such as saying that, "I think you can get it", instead of saying, "you don't know it, do you ?" Criticizing incorrect responses and expressing irritative reactions as deterrent, acts as a negative reinforcer and blocks or hinders instead of encouraging competence.

Some of the experiments that are suggested for expansion and integration of E C C E programmes may be more reality centred and characterized by pupil participation. The criteria for evaluation of all E C C E programmes must include three-fold objectives that the young learner could tackle and grapple; (i) The young learner must take responsibility and learn to think and plan for himself by differentially processing his own ability; (ii) they must be able to choose their vocation so as to able to earn their own livelihood; (iii) they must be able to arrive at satisfactory solutions of community centred altruism. Finally, the experiments and integration of E C C E must test and tease-out the acceptable and affective dimension of teacher-taught relationship from the following :-

(i) Nurturant relationship :- It centres on the high affective maturity of the earl learners; (ii) Productive relationship:- It modulates and regulates the annoyance and aggression towards teacher; (iii) Exploitative relationship :- Encourages the speed o processing and emphasizes the accuracy of performance; (iv) Strained relationship:- pupils or learners with flagging of interest may not promote their problem solving activities; (v) Unconcerned relationship:-The breakdown of interpersonal relations resulting in the isolated or fragmented relationship of the teacher; (vi) and lastely, the Commercial relationship : - generated by the teacher and pupil's personal and economic needs which is most deterrent and deliterious practice today. It must be discarded at all costs. This needs to be substituted by scientifically oriented system of token æconomy.

The Elite-Mass Dynamics in the Novels of Bhabani Bhattacharya---A Gandhian Perspective

MANMOHAN K. BHATNAGAR

Bhabani Bhattacharya (1906-) is one of the most obvious examples of a novelist writing consciously under the impact of the epoch-making Gandhian ideology. It is not a mere coincidence that he is the writer of two books on Gandhi himself¹. All his novels have references to Gandhi freely interspersed, each novel veering round one or more characters reminiscent of Gandhi and at least one novel is solely devoted to a consideration of the relevance of Gandhi in the modern world.² However, the artistic rendering of Gandhian ideology in Bhattacharya has received only cursory attention, especially in terms of its political ramifications. Most of the work has been done with respect to Indo-Anglian fiction in general and hence individual novelists, in so far as they give distinctive treatment to some specific tenets of Gandhism, scarcely get full justice. Some of the more important critics who have done this work are : Iyengar³ Narsimhaiah⁴, Meenakshi Mukherjee⁵, M.K. Naik.⁶ Carlo Coppola's⁷ additional limitation is that he sets out to trace the influence of both Gandhism and Marxism. G.P. Sharma⁸ denies Gandhism any distinctive weightage deeming it merely a logical extension of the surge of nationalism. Individual studies of Bhattacharya are no better. In their concern for an over-all perspective on the novelist, a detailed consideration of his Gandhism receives scant attention. Prime examples here would be Chandrashekharan⁹, K.K. Sharma¹⁰ and Ramesh Srivastava¹¹. Though primarily concerned with the impact of Gandhian ideology on Bhattacharya, Dorothy Blair Shimer¹², Sudarshan Sharma¹³ and Rama Jha¹⁴ highlight only its religious, sociological or ethical facts, ignoring almost completely its innovative political dimensions. An attempt is made here to examine Gandhi's views on the functioning of power-elite in society vis-a-vis the masses and also to see how far this version of elite mass dynamics is rendered artistically by Bhattacharya in his novels.

No man was more conscious than Gandhi of the role of power and its uses. He differed from other political philosophers in insisting that both politics and political power should be value-oriented in personel as well as in group action. Whereas Marxists put total faith in the larger impersonal forces of history, irrespective of the question of the cost of progress and avoiding the debasement of human values, Gandhi

was prepared to go along with the historical forces, but he insisted, at the same time, on defending human values at each stage of the struggle and minimizing the human cost so that the end product didn't turn out to be something very different from what it was intended to be. At least one thing that was common between the Marxian and Gandhian approaches was their attempt to integrate the elite with the masses. Although originally the elitist theories of history were evolved to counteract Marx, modern Marxist sociology absorbs the elite theory within classical Marxism. It has come to be universally accepted that class formation upto a critical level play a decisive role in a revolution. It is the revolutionary quality of the leadership, however, that determines the success of a revolution. To Gandhi the quality of the elite was as much important as the awakening of the masses. Unlike the Marxists, he insisted that all those human values which any final mode was to embody, must be generated now and be constantly practised by the elite, subject only to the limitations of the then prevailing system. An elite which isn't austere in its living can't enjoy legitimacy with the masses. For Gandhi non-consumption oriented development, practice of one's own convictions and constructive work were some of the instruments or revolutionary elite formation. Gandhi was certain that keeping aloof from politics would violate the elite-mass dynamics through which alone new struggles can be carried on. Non-politics is non-revolutionary and anti-Gandhian; indeed it is the most reactionary attitude. Gandhi, thus, envisaged an elite *en rapport* with the masses not shying away from involvement in their destiny, believing in the interdependence of ends and means.¹⁵

It is revealing to come to the novels of Bhattacharya with some acquaintance with the Gandhian position on the elite-mass inter-action. The positive characters¹⁶ in Bhattacharya are well integrated with the masses or they arrive at a stage of such integration. Kajoli and her mother in *So Many Hungers!* (1947) feel no hesitation in sharing their meals with their *kisan* uncles.¹⁷ Even in the face of the famine and the imminent starvation, her mother is firm in taking the position :

If we eat, our *kisan* brethren and their kin shall eat.
 The rice is as much theirs as ours, -- for it has grown
 from the pouring sweat of their chests. The money we have
 paid them as harvest-wage is nothing. Man eats food, not
 money. (p. 105)

Rahoul's grandfather, popularly acclaimed *Devata* by the villagers, has got so well-integrated with them that he lives with them, they call him their own. He has become the *dejure* head of Kajoli's family after the imprisonment of her father for participating in the Civil Disobedience Movement. Rahoul himself moves from a mere enchantment with his *Dadu's* Gandhian ideas and a sense of regret for not

having participated in the freedom struggle to an actual involvement with the destiny of the masses. He feels 'guilt-ridden'¹⁸ in his insulated, luxurious life in fashionable Calcutta and his Western mode of life appears to him mere self-indulgence. His increasing involvement with the starving, helpless people arouses in him too the hunger for freedom. In a very significant move, the novelist depicts him leaving the laboratory, where he held a place of distinction, for the public place where he loses himself in the crowd of the agitators for freedom. Rahoul reveals himself a true Gandhian fighter for swarajya as he casts off his "intellectual snobbery" and feels that he was of one clay with the common people of the soil (p. 102) in the joint crusade for the liberation of the land. He, a member of an upper stratum of society, addresses Kishor, a millhand, as his brother (p. 101). Rahoul's successors in Bhattacharya's corpus scrupulously follow the trail blazed by him.

Mohini and the Big House of Behula, too, in **Music For Mohini** (1952) are fully integrated with the masses. The Big House had made itself the guide and the guardian of the whole village. During the famine in Bengal, "many precious jewels and some two hundred sovereigns dating back to the Mughal days" had been sold to "feed the starving people."¹⁹ The master of the Big House had done his best to prevent the sale of paddy to grain-profiters during the War, knowing well that this would starve the people (p. 122). He himself was drowned while attempting to evacuate stricken villagers inundated by Meghmala in spate. Mohini herself, even before she discovers the fine heritage of the Big House, promises to her husband, Jayadev, "You'll see how soon and easily I become Behula's own." (p. 77) On her way to Behula after her marriage, she shares her meals with the cartman (p. 78). She feeds the children of the farm labourers who come to bring their ration to the fields (p. 118).

The minstrel in Sonamitti in **A Goddess Named Gold** (1960) offers villagers spiritual guidance as well as political leadership. He has a certain aura of mystery and greatness about him. Yet he has an intuitive feel of the people he meets and addresses. He is easily accessible and feels perfectly at home with villagers. As a matter of fact the novelist himself endeavours to divest him of his halo by presenting the ironic banter between the old man and his wife as he comes home after a long time.²⁰ Meera, in the same novel, serves of focus on this aspect of integration in another way.

In **Meera (A Goddess Named Gold)** and **Kalo (He who Rides A Tiger)**, Bhattacharya endorses the Gandhian dictum in a rather circumlocutory way. He makes his protagonists retrace their steps and be wary of the means they adopt, however, good the goal they aim at may be in itself. Only after this can they recapture their hold over the masses. Even as a young girl, Meera had revealed her strength of will and determination, her capacity for fullness of being and her concern for others. She had

joined her fellow-workers for a month in prison following their participation in the historic Quit India movement. She had descended into the well to rescue Lakshmi's son, Nago. Who else but Meera had lead the village women in their march against the Seth who had cornered the whole stock of sarees. This was the Meera all of Sonamitti knew and loved, the Meera for whom each day signalled an opportunity to do an unconscious, spontaneous act of kindness. However, towards the end of the novel, Meera loses this rapport, this comradeship with the common people as she allows herself to be coaxed into a dubious partnership with the Seth. Meera was dazzled by the fabulous vision of her having immense wealth and thus bettering the lot of the whole community, the easy way. To have faith in wrong and improper means, however, good the ends they seem to serve is unquestionably to go astray. As Sohanlal, the 'City Swank' whom Meera had grown to love and who, in turn, loved and understood the real person underneath the mystic figure in her, explains to her: "It is the fight with the Seths that will save India, not a miracle, not armfuls of gold" (p. 197). This belief in short cuts to prosperity without labour and sweat cuts Meera off from the people completely. Meera is fully alienated from the villagers and from her close associates. People avoid her because they are afraid of the "threat of kindness" (p. 219), of the suffering that may be thrust upon them to make Meera's act of kindness possible. Whereas earlier her offers or help were spontaneous and devoid of any ulterior motive, now there was always the need to do an act of kindness and thus help the *taveej* transform copper into gold. The crisis is effected when an effigy of Meera is to be burnt. It is only when she discards the *taveej* and the schemes she had woven round it and comes round to the conviction that human suffering can be removed not with the help of a miracle but through a determined effort (p. 270) that she regains the love and respect of the village-folk.

In Kalo, the blacksmith from Jharna in *He who Rides A Tiger*, we discern again a pattern similar to the one Meera represents. The honest, sincere, hard working blacksmith is already a leader of his community and other communities nearby. "People came truthfully to him for counsel whenever a festive day was to be celebrated, a quarrel to be settled, or a death to be mourned. His words were calm and wise. His decision had the weight of finality."²¹ Despite his sending of his daughter to an English school, people accepted him as one of them. They felt that "his heart was truly with his own people whose life he shared. His roots were in the age-richened soil, of his own caste" (p.12). However, this rapport with his fellows snaps after Kalo reincarnates himself as the priest of a temple which comes up around an idol installed fraudulently. In his new role he grows alienated from all, including even his daughter. ("There was a new hardness in him towards his daughter, Chandralekha" p.112). Even in his new-found community of Brahmins, he ploughs a lonely furrow. He does show warmth for Vishvanath, a fellow *kamar*, but it turns out to be "as brief as it had been sudden" (p.114). It is only towards the close when he unburdens himself of all his

machinations, revealing how he had made the mighty eat dirt to seek vengeance for the treatment meted out to him as a **kamar** that he gets **en rapport** again with the people. His words "sink deep into their minds" (p.242) and they hail him as a legend. Kalo's regaining his hold over the people by returning to his earlier adherence to truth is a vindication of the Gandhian protester in him.

Satyajit and Bhaskar in **Shadow From Ladakh** (1966) appear contrasting studies from this perspective of elite-mass dynamics. Despite being a votary of steel, as against Satyajit's obviously Gandhian attachment with the spinning-wheel, Bhaskar has a clearly discernible Gandhian facet to his personality. The way the C.E. understands, interprets and fights for the cause of the humblest of workers reveals the humane heart he has under a ruthless, flinty exterior. The Labour Officer is surprised at "his softness for a common worker who had paid the price of his own negligence."²² Sumita rightly terms him not merely "steel that can think" but that can also feel (p. 125). His subordinates remember how their C.E. worked with his own hands forgetting all else to help a petty worker who was having trouble with his electric welding set. They rightly exclaim, "He has always been our friend. He has known our mind, our feelings" (p. 370). The way he builds an equation with the Chinese girls, now aliens after the Chinese invasion, is truly a remarkable feat, quintessentially of Gandhian stamp. On the other hand, Satyajit's Gandhian gesture of fasting to make the Great Uncle's grandson repent for his 'lapse' proves inefficacious (p. 48). This highlights the gulf which separates Satyajit from the people whom he professes to lead, and shows who in reality holds the mantle of Gandhism.

Satyajit has travelled far from the Gandhian prescription of close and intermittent interaction between the leader and the led. He has an aura of intellectuality like Rahoul, a halo of sanctity and sainthood like the minstrel, but unlike these two,

Satyajit, towered over all the others. He was unequalled among the equals. With each passing year, he had shut himself up more and more in a loneliness where none could enter (p. 47).

Suruchi, his wife, finds him engrossed in Sartre when she would like to discuss her Moscow visit with him (p. 51). She is right to a large extent when she calls him "an egoist" (p. 324). He is referred to as "the stone god" (p.20) too. It is this which prompts Bireswar, his friend, to ask him to lead a normal life rather than allowing himself to be "vested with...saintliness" (p.360) which distances him from the people. Bireswar himself, an Independent M.P., is presented leading a life unencumbered with such saintly baggage and perfectly in communion with those around him. Towards the close, Satyajit recalls his friend's words and promises to himself that he will come down from his high pedestal to be one of the masses. "His new won release would seek expression in the honest acceptance of every human need" (p. 367). Satyajit,

thus, far from being a Gandhian *ab initio*, develops during the course of action into rue follower of Gandhi.

Gandhi's prescription of austerity as the presiding virtue in both private and public life of a social activist has not met with Battacharya's approval. The way Gandhi perceived it, austerity would include not merely simplicity, sacrifice and self-abnegation but also abstinence from the consumption of meat, even milk and the practice of *akhand brahmcharya*.²³ In *Music For Mohini* (1953) Battacharya did introduce the tangles caused in the life of a young man fired with Gandhian idealism in matters private as well as public. Jayadev, "who had no knowledge of the soul of a woman" (p. 105), visualizes a "spiritual union" with his wife, Mohini, in whom he sees his 'Maitreyi'. However, Mohini had no ambition to be "Maitreyi" (p.104). Obviously this emotional incompatibility between the two hampers Jayadev's Gandhian work of rural reconstruction. This forestalls the possibility of Mohini extending him a helping hand in his service of the masses. It is in *Shadow From Ladakh* that one finds this dilemma posed in its full implications. The modern day apostle of non-violence, Satyajit, has downed grave violence to the sensibilities of his wife, Suruchi, by arbitrarily taking a vow of *akhand brahmcharya*. Suruchi fails to comprehend how "one's dedication to national service could gain strength from the stage of celibacy" (p.19). Satyajit had always been tormented by a Harriet Green or a Stella Johnson in his system despite his long fasts for self-purification at Cambridge. Even in the post-brahmcharya phase, there were rare occasions "when the tormented stone god lost his iron restraint and seized by something tempestuous, he drew Suruchi to him and made love" (p.20). Ultimately Satyajit comes to the realization that Suruchi was "an urge for him to live, relive, and not on the Gandhian plane" (p.367) (emphasis in original). The new found maturity in Satyajit, the individual, ready to accept every human need precedes the maturity in Satyajit, the Gandhian public leader. In his new-found stature Satyajit "would not have to step on each foot-print of the master's striding gait" (p.367); he'll leave his own marks on the sands of time.

In Rahoul, *Devata*, Mohini, Jayadev, Kalo, the minstrel, Bhaskar and Satyajit, we have the components of revolutionary elite well-integrated with and attuned to the multitude it seeks to lead. Practising themselves, as far as possible, the values they profess, these positive heroes of Battacharya differ from Gandhi only in the elan with which they celebrate/learn to celebrate life deeming it the greatest incentive to their creed rather than being a damper.

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Reviews of Books

O.P. Goyal. *Convertible Debentures / Bonds—Experience of Indian Private Sector*, Delhi, 1988, pp-
xix xx 443, Rs 360 00.

Dr. O.P. Goyal has chosen, as his theme of study, an emerging instrument of funds mobilisation. Recently, quite a few write-ups have appeared, in financial journals, on different aspects of convertible debentures. However, the need for a consolidated work on the subject was long felt. Dr. Goyal's book has bridged the gap.

Although Dr. Goyal has based his study on three hypothesis, which we will discuss later, he has, in his professional capacity, penetrated into the other aspects of convertible debentures, not covered by his thesis. Thus, he traces the history of convertible debentures in India and their gradual growth, before analysing, in detail, the the convertibles raised in his targeted period. He has unravelled the pattern of CCI consents during this period, the success and failure of the issues etc. What is more, he has extended the scope of his study to absorb, within its ambit, Non-convertible debentures as well. It is, therefore, a comprehensive work on debentures, both convertible and Non-convertible.

As mentioned earlier, Dr. Goyal has directed his detailed study on three hypothesis viz., Convertible debentures are easy modes of raising funds compared to Non-convertible debentures, volatility of the equity shares of the Company issuing convertibles coupled with attractive conversion terms are key to the success of Convertibles and much of the published returns on debentures is misleading and debentures as such neither provide adequate liquidity not return.

With a view to test the veracity of the above hypothesis, he has collected both secondary and primary data. The data thus collected is codified and furnished as annexures of the book. Dr. Goyal has furnished such abundance of information that a number of ancillary studies could easily be initiated using the data.

Dr. Goyal has chosen the years 1978-82 for his analytical study. As is well known, this period coincides with the phenomenal changes taking shape in the concept of bank finance to industry with the acceptance, by the Reserve Bank, of Tandon and Chore Committee recommendations and their implementation. Bulk of the funds raised during the study period was for meeting working capital needs of companies. This has been amply corroborated by the respondent companies. About 40 percent of the companies have assigned denial of credit by commercial banks as reasons for resorting to debentures.

During the period of 5 years covered by the study, 284 companies in the private sector where accorded approval for issue of debentures for Rs. 1,073 crores of which 91 for Rs 644 crores were Convertibles and 193 for Rs 429 were Non-convertibles. Among the 91 Convertibles Rs. 40 for Rs. 203 crores were rights issues, leaving only 51 issues for Rs. 441 crores as convertibles offered to the public. Of this, 4 for Rs. 10 crores, did not avail of approval, confining the target group for study to 47 issues for Rs. 431 crores. Even out of this, only Rs 213 crores were offered to the public. Thus, out of the effective approval of debentures for Rs. 1,063 crores, the Convertibles offered to the public works out a mere 20 per cent.

Comparison of Convertibles offered for the public with the total funds raised by Private Corporate sector would have made the place of convertibles still insignificant. Unfortunately such information is not available. We can, therefore, assert with an amount of certainty that the Indian companies have not taken to convertibles wholeheartedly. Obviously, no management would like to dilute its holding by issuing Convertibles.

Having set the goals of the study and the period of observation, the author collected published data as also solicited the response of the issuing Corporate bodies, authorities and intelligentsia related to the discipline of finance and the investing public through three sets of questionnaire. The analysis of the data confirm that convertible debentures are preferred to non-convertibles and that the publicised returns are misleading. However, volatility of the correlated equity shares itself alone is not found to be a sufficient condition for the success of a Debenture issue.

Apart from the tested hypothesis, the data collected and tabled by the author throw open a number of interesting facets relating to debentures. Majority of respondents (about 70%) were driven to the debenture issue scared by the unfitting terms of institutional finance and denial of Bank credits. In essence, the companies chose to debentures as a means of escaping the financial discipline imposed by institutions; that is also the reason why MRTPL companies obtained the major share of debenture approvals.

The claim that debentures are cheap source of long term funds has not been substantiated. Only about 12% of the respondents considered it so. A comparative cost of the different modes of long term funds vis-a-vis debentures of at least a few companies that have issued debentures would have enhanced the utility of the study.

The study throws light on the investments preference of the public. Both the service and business categories of investors have considered convertible debentures as the best choice among the various investment portfolios. As regards Non-convertibles,

the service category is a little reconciled with non-convertible debentures but the business community has totally rejected the instrument. The low profile of non-convertibles has also been reflected in the pattern of offerings to the public. During the study period, only 20% of Non-convertible debentures were offered to the public whereas in the case of Convertibles, the proportion was as high as 68 per cent.

Dr. Goyal has also devoted his attention to the development of a sound debenture market in the country and towards this end has catalogued a number of proposals. Barring a few, such as requesting Reserve Bank to open counter to purchase/sell debentures at predetermined rates, his suggestions are practicle. Particularly his advise to CCI not to permit partly convertible debentures merits mentioning, as the investors are disillusioned with such instruments.

It is common knowledge that the issuing companies make the return on debentures attractive by quietly ignoring the time factor. The author has proved that by using Discounted Cash flow method the returns advertised fall steeply short of the actuals. This, no doubt, amounts to taking the investors for a ride. Could not CCI save the gullible investors by insisting on the discounted rate of return in debenture advertisements ?

On the whole, the study of Dr. Goyal would be useful to the cross sections of the people in the country. It is a treatise deserving to be possessed by students of financial management. It is useful for the corporate management to enter, with success, into this nascent field of resources mobilisation. As the book has blended theory with practice in desired dosage, even freshers will find the book not difficult to follow. The authorities could give serious consideration to the suggestions made in the study to develop debentures as the most favoured method of resources mobilisation of the Corporate bodies in future.

Managing Director
Chola Chemicals Limited
Madras

S. Jayapandian

Puspha Bansal, *Hindi Gadya ka Vidha Vaividhya*, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 144, Rs. 60.00.

Modern Hindi literature, particularly during the past two decades, has taken strides through the creation of various new forms as well as through re-scheduling and reorientation of the established ones. The swiftness of life, its complexities, stresses and strains enjoin upon the creative writers to portray it with all its intricacies, interalia aspects that have a direct bearing on life, be it political, apolitical,

populist, social, socio-economic, cultural, individual, ridiculous, despicable and so on. The pressure building zones sweeping or eroding the values and tenets, threatening and thwarting questions, in their entirety, the more they thrust upon the writer to answer them the more the ambit and gamut of the age-old forms belie their encompassment. But they are answered, naturally in the fashions and forms they have developed for themselves, sometimes terminating the existing bonds and sometimes through new frameworks. This, in turn, necessitates the re-casting of the old forms and discovery of fundamentals of the newly erected infrastructure of the upcoming forms.

Dr. Pushpa Bansal in her venture in **Hindi Gadya Vidha Vaividhya** has done a commendable job in furnishing the tenets for the newly developed forms which indeed is an 'Aristotelian Accomplishment'. She has earlier provided Hindi Literature with its own 'Poetics' and her book under reference enriches the literature by equipping it with the latest weaponry. It may be pointed out that she has not shunned the old as totally obsolete. She has readily chosen the eternal and rejuvenated it and blended it with the new where-ever she found it to go hand-in-hand with. For instance the revival of the 'Theory of **Rasa**' has found an accommodation in novel. She has thus strikingly expanded the horizon of **Rasa** from the realm of poetry to the realm of novel, particularly at a juncture when the theory of **Rasa** had come to be totally discarded by poets and critics of poetry itself. She propounds that novel's soul is **Rasa** as it is that of an Epic or Drama. Its enchantment or pleasure remains latent in its originality of analysis of realism. Since we draw pleasure from ignoble and horror in literature, why then can't we enjoy the depiction of realism by assimilating (SADHARNIKRIT) ourselves with the life-like characters and incidents portrayed in a novel.

Similarly Dr. Bansal builds another theory around the critical appreciation and appraisal of novel. She denotes the aesthetic contours of novel and rests upon the imaginative forces working and building an aesthetic world within the world created by the novelist. Until now, the novel was bereft of these approaches and Dr. Bansal has provided the Hindi-world with a new world of research.

Dr. Bansal, systematically demarcates the plinth area and dimensions of the newly developed forms like 'LAMBI KAHANI' and 'LAGHU KATHA'. 'KAHANI,' that is short story, has hitherto been a widely accepted name, but its concept has also undergone some changes with the emergence of smaller and larger story. Dr. Bansal pinpoints that the increase or decrease in size is superficial. The two types 'LAMBI' and 'LAGHU', differ in their elements from the 'short story' or 'KAHANI'. These elements in respect of 'LAMBI KAHANI' rest upon the irresistibility in the expounding of characters and situations not to the extent they can go, but to the extent they satisfy the urge of the writer as compared to the writer of short story who is satisfied in a short while. In 'LAGHU KATHA', these very things with a condensed plot are condensed proportionately.

In her christening the 'Essay' tentes, Dr. Bansal carefully refers to the psychological 'Self' of the writer reacting against a subject faithfully and thereby she refers to cultural identity raising Essay to the deserving lofty perch among literary forms. She also does not forget to distinguish the satirical Essay in the cultural overtones taking shape in the stirred emotions of the people who cannot digest the given or accept the goings on around them.

As to Autobiography, Sketch, Memoir, she establishes their distinctness from each other by referring to the person being portrayed and that makes all the difference. Dr. Bansal's another achievement is that she has, for the first time, given recognition to 'Radio-Natak' on a critical basis and has referred to its distinctness from Drama, One Act Play and has further established it as a full fledged form of literature. This rendering further shows a larger scope of research. She has also given recognition to translation as a part of literature which richly deserve so.

Dr. Bansal's work is undoubtedly a pioneering effort; it leaves nothing to debate, at least so far as the recognition of the new forms in literature is concerned. Her originality as a norm creator will be remembered long and who-so-ever opts to go in for this realm will find himself/herself indebted to Dr. Bansal.

Department of Hindi
Maharshi Dayanand University
Rohtak

B.N. Singhal

CONTRIBUTORS

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1. S. N. Chopra, Reader, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Panjab University, Chandigarh.
2. Jyotsana Tewathia, Reader, Department of History, Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak.
3. Tribikram Pradhan, Research Scholar, Department of History, Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak.
4. M. M. Juneja, Lecturer, Department of History, C.R.M. Jat College, Hissar.
5. Yash Pal Bajaj, Reader, Department of History, Punjabi University, Patiala.
6. Om Parkash Goyal, Reader and Head, Department of Commerce, Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak.
7. Gurbachan Kaur, Lecturer, Department of Economics, Punjabi University, Patiala.
8. Surinder Kumar, Reader and Head, Department of Economics, Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak.
9. S. C. Sharma, Lecturer, Department of Commerce, C.R.M. Jat College, Hissar.
10. S.C. Arora, Lecturer, Department of Political Science, S.J.K. College, Kalanaur, (Rohtak).
11. S.N. Sinha, Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur.
12. Manmohan K. Bhatnagar, Reader, Department of English, Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

1. S. Jayapandian, Former Professor and Consultant, Institute for Financial Management and Research and Managing Director, Chola Chemical Limited, Madras.
2. B.N. Singhal, Reader, Department of Hindi, Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak.

Dayananda Saraswati in Bengal

Amal Sankar Banerjee

Activities of Pandit Dayananda Saraswati in Bengal or more particularly his interactions with the leading Bengalis of the time and more closely with the Brahmos of Calcutta, though less known, do not form an altogether neglected chapter in the history of the nineteenth century reform movements of India.¹ Both the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj chroniclers were quite apt to keep track of his activities, often documented with references to contemporary newspapers. The tendencies to point to the relative indebtedness of the one to the other, depending upon the respective intentions of the recorders, are not absent in them. Among the more recent publications mention should be made of the following biographies of Dayananda by Debendranath Mukhopadhyay,³ Lekhram,⁴ Ghasiram⁵ or two unpublished Ph. D. thesis by J.R. Graham⁶ and K.W. Jones.⁷ While the first three projected the views of devoted followers, they really do not present more than the vital raw materials for a historical biography proper. The other two supply good analytical framework but suffer from narrow scope and perspectives.⁸ Apart from these, the other significant addition to this field is authored by J.T.F. Jordens. He unearthed altogether new source materials,⁹ indentified new fields of study and drew striking inferences so effectively that further study may often seem superfluous.

The heading of the fourth chapter of Jordens' book runs as 'Calcutta: A Cauldron of New Ideas'. Jordens thinks that the key to the understanding of the transformation of 'a peripatetic preacher of the Doab' into the self-confident Swami is to be found in Calcutta. Jordens tends to indicate that at Calcutta Dayananda's "first overriding concern was not to teach, but to learn."¹⁰ He concludes after a few pages, "If Calcutta did not weaken Dayananda's basic convictions, it opened up wide new horizons for him..... In the next few years he would incorporate those newly discovered perspectives into his basic vision."

It may justifiably be asked if Dayananda had visited Calcutta only to pick up some useful hints for his future work, why then was his advent marked by the circulation of leaflets in Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali and English, inviting interested persons to meet him for theological or religious discussions?¹² Since his arrival at Calcutta, Dayananda came into contact with considerable number of eminent and ordinary persons, before whom he preached his ideas and deliberated about social, historical, theological and philosophical matters.¹³ Jordens here points out that Dayananda did not proceed to give vent to his views before three weeks' observations and

that also only before a very few selected persons.¹⁴ Last but not the least is the fact that true to his own purpose Jordens did not go into the details of the day to day interactions of Dayananda with persons coming from different walks of life. But viewed from this angle a colourful panorama would certainly have opened before our eyes, which we may endeavour to analyse in the next few pages.¹⁵

When Dayananda arrived at Calcutta on 16th December 1872, he was neither a stranger to the Bengalis nor was he without any idea of Bengal and about the people around.¹⁶ He alighted from the train at Howrah railway station in the morning from Bhagalpur.¹⁷ He was received there by Chandra Sekhar Sen, Umesh Chandra Bandyopadhyay and Satyabrata Samashrami.¹⁸ He was carried to the house of Jotindra Mohan Tagore. Jotindra Mohan's brother Sourendra Mohan arranged for his accommodation at a garden house in the northern suburb of the city.¹⁹ The *Indian Mirror* hailed Dayananda's arrival reporting it on the 30th December 1872.²⁰

There was considerable rush of ordinary people to the garden house to see and talk with Dayananda between 17th and 20th December. The rush was so much that Hem Chandra Chakraborty could not even talk to Dayananda.²¹ Many of those visitors went there merely to see him, others again to engage in scriptural analysis, some other fault finders kept a close watch on his words and actions. Dayananda did not meet any visitor till 2 to 3 P.M. After that he talked to them sitting sometimes inside the house or sometimes sitting in the garden or upon the banks of the ponds within the garden.²²

Keshab Chandra was not in Calcutta when Dayananda came here.²³ On his return to the city Keshab paid a visit to the garden house on 21st December.²⁴

Among the eminent visitors of 22nd December were Dwijendranath and Hemendranath Tagore and Tridib Bhattacharyay. They discussed subjects ranging from sacred thread, caste distinction, sacrificial rites, soul and six systems of Indian philosophy etc.²⁵ Dwijendranath, having philosophical bent of mind, dealt mainly with philosophical topics with the Swami. Dayananda is said to have tried to convince Dwijendranath that Kapil's *Sankhya* philosophy was not an atheistic text.²⁶ After that Dwijendranath disclosed the real purpose of his visit, i.e. inviting Dayananda to the Adi Brahmo Samaj on the occasion of its annual festival. Dayananda was not willing, at the beginning, to accept Dwijendranath's request, because he had already rejected a similar request of Keshab Chandra. Afterwards he acceded to it on hearing the ideas of the Adi Brahmo Samaj and their deep respect for the Vedas.²⁷

By the 29th December Keshab Chandra succeeded to develop close relationship with Dayananda. The latter enquired Keshab about Vidyasagar.²⁸

Akshoy Kumar Datta and Rajnarayan Basu met Dayananda on the 30th and 31st December. They discussed about the Vedas and sacrifice.²⁹

On 1st January 1873, Keshab Chandra took Dayananda out for a visit to different organisations and institutions set up under his leadership and the auspices of the Brahmo Samaj of India, situated at different parts of the city.³⁰

Dayananda met Kristodas Pal on 2nd January. Pal very enthusiastically supported Dayananda's proposal for setting up a Vedic school at Calcutta.³¹

Ailing Vidyasagar was visited by Dayananda at his residence at Badurbagan in the company of Keshab Chandra on 3rd January.³² They talked about widow remarriage, *niyog*, early marriage, *kulinism* and child marriage etc. Vidyasagar expressed interest in Dayananda's proposal to establish a Vedic school at Calcutta.³³

On 4th January a meeting was convened on the initiative of Keshab Chandra at the house of Rajendralal Mallick to consider Dayananda's proposal to establish a Vedic school. It was attended, among others, by Jatindra Mohan Tagore, Jaikrishna Mukhopadhyay, Charu Chandra Mallick, Pari Mohan Mukhopadhyay, Kristodas Pal, Dwijendranath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar etc.³⁴ In the meeting it was decided that a separate school could be opened if arrangements for Vedic studies could not be made at the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta.³⁵

Rajendralal Mitra and Keshab Chandra met Dayananda between 5th and 6th January. Dayananda talked about old history of the Aryans with Mitra.³⁶

With Vidyasagar Dayananda discussed about social reform, when the former came to visit Dayananda at the garden house along with Ramtanu Lahiri and Rajnarayan Basu on 8th January. Dayananda discussed about western and eastern education with Lahiri.³⁷

He went to visit the Asiatic Society in the company of Ram Kumar Vidyaratna on January 9,³⁸ "chiefly to purchase copies of the Vedas and the Upanisads."³⁹ Then he went to the house of Keshab Chandra Sen, where Dayananda met a large number of Brahmos.⁴⁰ Many persons, present there, expressed surprise because the Sanskrit used by Dayananda was very simple. "We never heard of such liberal views about society and religion from a Hindu *sannasi*, having no knowledge of English."⁴¹ They also expressed the wish to circulate the views of Dayananda by getting them printed. Some of them even proceeded to form a body to materialize those ideas.⁴² Rajnarayan Basu, on the same occasion, presented Dayananda with a copy of his own book, *Hindu Dharmer Sresthata*,⁴³ and also read out some parts of it with Hindi rendering.⁴⁴

Ramesh Chandra Datta and Ramesh Chandra Mitra met him on 18th January. They talked about India's old history and the translation of the Vedas.⁴⁵

Dayananda's visitors during 11th and 16th January included Surja Kanta Acharya Choudhury, Rajanikanta Gupta, Jotindra Mohan Tagore, Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar, Pratap Chandra Majumdar, Dwaraka Nath Gangopadhyay and Gangadhar Kabiraj etc.⁴⁶

The thirtyfourth *Brahmotsav* was celebrated on 21st January. Hem Chandra Chakraborty and Dwijendranath Tagore carried him from the garden house to the Adi Brahmo Samaj Hall at Chitpur at noon, where many other Brahmos were present.⁴⁷ Other sons of Debendranath Tagore welcomed him very cordially and with courtesy. A very free and wide ranging discussion on theology and religion took place. He talked about the independent will of souls with Hemendranath. He favoured the idea and amazed the latter by quoting Vedic testimonies in his own support. Dayananda was enchanted by the Vedic recital of the children of Tagore family. Dwijendranath invited him to stay for a few days at their house, which Dayananda declined pointing to the fact that *Sannasis* should not stay among the household people. He also became very pleased seeing round the Adi Brahmo Samaj Prayer Hall established By Raja Rammohan Roy in 1830. He read with eagerness the Vedic verses that were inscribed on four of its walls.⁴⁸

Between 22nd and 30th January Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Rajnarayan Basu, Akshoy Kumar Datta and Keshab Chandra Sen etc. went to visit Dayananda and held discussions with him.⁴⁹

On 31st January Dayananda retired to a garden house of Than Singha, a follower of Jainism, at Baluchar, in the district of Murshidabad and stayed there upto 21st February.⁵⁰ Many persons used to visit him there. The purpose of the visit was probably taking rest⁵¹ and quietly recapitulating the experiences gained at Calcutta.⁵²

He came back to Calcutta on the 22nd February. In a well attended meeting at the house of Gora Chand Datta of Garpar on the very next day Dayananda spoke on 'God and Religion'.⁵³ The meeting was convened on the initiative of Keshab Chandra. Dayananda's speech was translated into Hindi by Pandit Mahesh Chandra Nayaratna. Some students, who were present in the meeting, alleged that Nayaratna had misinterpreted Dayananda's speech. This made Nayaratna angry and he left the meeting.⁵⁴

Keshab Chandra took Dayananda to visit many places of Calcutta including his own ancestral house at Kalutola or the Adi Brahmo Samaj at Chitpur or Behala or Khidirpur and the garden house of Keshab Chandra himself at Kashipur between 24th and 28th February.⁵⁵

Many eminent persons continued to visit him at the garden house between 1st and 11th March.⁵⁶ Dayananda also delivered public lectures.⁵⁷ Reporting about

one lecture of Dayananda at the Barranagar Night School, situated with the Borneo Company, a person wrote in the *Indian Mirror*, ".....a large number of respectable native gentlemen were present on the occasion.....I hope that the educated friends of Calcutta will make it a point to attend his future lectures."⁵⁸

On the request of Lakshmi Narayan Goswami, Dayananda visited Nabadwip in the district of Nadia between 13th and 17th March. Meetings were arranged on the ghats of the Ganga or in the market places.⁵⁹ A rumour spread out, much to the embarrassment of his host there, that the German scholar 'Macmukur' (Max Muller) had come to secure Indian converts to Christianity in the guise of Dayananda.⁶⁰ Yet there was considerable rush of both men and women to visit him.⁶¹

Dayananda came back to Calcutta on 21st March and remained absorbed in writing. He still used to meet common persons, to whom he delivered sermons upto 31st March.⁶²

On April 1, Dayananda moved to Hooghly alongwith Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay. There he stayed at the house of Brindaban Mondal as a guest.⁶³ Reverend Lal Behari Dey, then a professor of the Hooghly College, controverted his ideas on caste distinction. Arya Samaj sources refer to the outcome of the debate as a victory of Dayananda.⁶⁴ Many people also came to visit Dayananda. He answered to their questions and also delivered sermons before them between 2nd and 4th April.⁶⁵ Dayananda delivered a speech in Sanskrit in front of Akshoy Chandra Sarkar and Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay and some pandits of Bhatpara. Akshoy Chandra commented that he had no idea that such difficult matters could be explained in that kind of simple Sanskrit.⁶⁶

On the insistence of the Pandits of Bhatpara a Charan Tarkaratna engaged Dayananda in a theological debate on 7th and 8th April. Haridhar Tarka Sidhanta and Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay were present on both occasions. Arya Samaj sources again noted the result of the discussion as a victory of Dayananda.⁶⁷

Dayananda visited many places of Hooghly in the company of Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay between 9th and 11th April.⁶⁸

On 13th April, Dayananda went to Bardhaman. He was the honoured guest of the Maharaja of Bardhaman. During 14th and 15th April he continued to meet visitors and preached sermons to them.⁶⁹ "The raja came every day and sat in a chair apart from the common folk. He never talked to Swami and the Swami never went to see him."⁷⁰

On 16th April Dayananda left Bardhaman and proceeded towards Bhagalpur.⁷¹

Thus Dayananda's stay in Bengal lasted for exactly four months, from 16th December 1872 to 15th April 1873 or nearly one hundred and twenty days. At Calcutta he spent sixty eight days. He stayed at Baluchar for twenty one days, i.e. 1st to 21st February and at Nabadwip between 13th to 18th March, i.e. for six days and at Hooghly and Bardhaman at the last phase of his journey, i.e. from 1st to 15th April or for fifteen days. At Calcutta he was amidst hectic and fervent activities. Apart from this, his tour of other places of Bengal can not be characterized as either extensive or intensive in any sense. But wherever he went, Dayananda succeeded to give rise to considerable stir. The explicit aim of this tour was to open a school for the Vedic studies. But implicitly he had something more in mind. In his attempts to establish reformed Hinduism, Dayananda, upto this time, had tried almost all the traditional means without considerable success.⁷² Now he needed to break new path. He had already met the reformers from Bombay and Calcutta and learnt about their method of work and organizational mechanism. He sought to study them from close quarters and incorporate changes, if necessary, to his basic convictions.⁷³

What he actually succeeded in doing is beyond the scope of this study. But in Bengal he came across a wide variety of persons and their views. They included both ordinary people and eminent persons. Among the last group of people there were Brahmos, Christians, Hindus and even followers of Jainism. Dayananda was gradually acquainted with different shades of Brahmo opinions. He met 'rationalist atheist' like Akshoy Kumar Datta or a person of deep piety and love of the stature of Keshab Chandra Sen or a radical reformer like Dwarkanath Gonpapadhyay or relatively conservative Brahmos like the Tagores of Jorasanko etc. They all were surprised at the fluent use of Sanskrit by Dayananda for explaining difficult religious and theological questions of the time in a way which was intelligible even to the common men.

Funny incidents did occur like the one at Nabadwip, where some people mistook him as a German scholar Max Muller coming to India with a view to securing converts to Christianity. Also an unhappy incident took place. His silent confrontation with Sourendra Mohan Tagore⁷⁴ was, no doubt, an uncomfortable experience during his stay at Calcutta.

During this time Keshab Chandra Sen was developing the concept of harmonizing sectarian conflict. It developed finally into his concept of New Dispensation.⁷⁵ Keshab Chandra showed deep interest towards Dayananda. Dayananda readily accepted two of Keshab's suggestions i.e. wearing reasonable amount of clothes for public appearances and using Hindi in public lectures. The Brahmo newspapers provided coverage to Dayananda's various activities at Calcutta. Simultaneously

they did not also fail to point out some of his pitfalls. They readily drew attention towards some of the differences between the two groups even during his stay at Calcutta.⁷⁶ We have even references of Keshab Chandra acting systematically to counter the influences of Dayananda only a few years later.⁷⁷ In the editorial columns of some of Calcutta newspapers adverse comments were also published.⁷⁸

In spite of much fanfare during his receptions, no meaningful step was taken either to collect and publish his ideas and views or to form a body to preach them. Similarly there was no attempt at establishing a Vedic school at Calcutta. Even Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, only about whom Dayananda showed a deep personal interest, declined his request of propagating the message of the Vedas in Bengal on grounds of failing health,⁷⁹ although Vidyasagar lived for nearly another twenty years to undertake many other concrete programmes.⁸⁰ Though welcomed as a guest of honour in the annual festival of the Adi Brahmo Samaj or in the garden house of Jotindra Mohan Tagore, no front ranking Brahmo showed genuine enthusiasm towards his philosophy or his reform programme. They merely extended usual hospitality for a few days. It was in no way something special for Dayananda alone or exceptional on their part.

We should point to the very nature of the contemporary Bengali society, if we try to hit upon the reasons of such reactions. Born and brought up in a comparatively liberal atmosphere, developed through its interactions with the western education of nearly half a century, contemporary Bengali society of Calcutta was then humming with numerous ideas and fermenting with various tendencies. It was then the happy testing ground of all new things. In the background of all these, the arrival of Dayananda, with all his novel programmes of regenerating Indian society, like many other similar ideas and their proponents, found eager subscribers in Calcutta during this tour. Keshab Chandra went closer to him in search of his attempts at harmonizing sectarian differences and evolving out a universal faith. Others like Romesh Chandra Datta, who was the first to translate the Rig Veda into Bengali between 1885 and 1887,⁸² had practical interest in meeting Dayananda and talking with him about the early history of the Aryans. Rajnarayan Basu read out his own propositions to Dayananda to get it checked by a man having immense knowledge in the traditional Hinduism. Heimsath rightly puts the idea, "The reformers of Bengal benefitted by the support that Dayananda could give them, in particular that support which his knowledge of the Vedas provided."⁸³ It should not be forgotten that though Ram Mohan Roy based his ideas on the Vedas but by the Vedas he actually meant the Upanisads. The Vedic studies or the traditional Hindu learning, if we are allowed to venture a bit further, was not properly available in contemporary Bengal. So Debendranath had to send four students to Benares to study the Vedas.

There is therefore some truth in what Jordens thinks, "When Dayananda left Calcutta, never to return, the metropolis soon forgot the extraordinary Swami; he was a passing phenomenon, and had no lasting impact on the local scene."⁸⁴ But still the positive sides of Dayananda's visit should not be lost sight of. In Bengal Dayananda did not have the painful experience of being denied the credit due to him in religious discourses. Bengalis did pay him a patient hearing. Everywhere he was received with courtesy and honour. Even the journals under the auspices of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, while pouring scorn on the Theosophical Society in a greater proportion and on the Salvation Army in some lesser proportion, remembered him long after his departure from the scene of Bengal, with respect and love.⁸⁵

After the death of Dayananda in 1883, three memorial meetings were held at Calcutta in 1883, 1884 and 1885 under the presidency of Rajnarayan Basu. Many eminent Bengalis were present in those meetings. In the last meeting in 1885 the proposal for establishing a Samaj was passed. The Calcutta Arya Samaj was established in 1885. It is interesting to note that during his stay at Calcutta, the Hindi speaking people did not come closer to Dayananda. But since the establishment of the Calcutta Arya Samaj their influence was on the increase. Presently it is celebrating its centenary. They had undertaken many beneficial measures including relief works.⁸⁶

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14. Jordens, J.T.F. *op. cit.*, p. 76.
15. There are some other references in Jordens, not directly related to Dayananda's activities at Calcutta, which put us into some difficulty to the proper representation of the Bengali society of the time. For example, Jordens thinks that Rajnarayan was well conversant with Sanskrit which was the basis of his intimacy with Dayananda (p. 77). Rajnarayan was, no doubt, a good Sanskritist, but certainly not at par with Dayananda, thoroughly schooled in traditional manner. Cf. Rajnarayan Basu, 'Atmcharit' (Bengali autobiography) (ed.) Hirak Roy, *Atmakatha* (a collection of autobiographies) (Calcutta : Ananya Prakashan, 1981), vol. I, p. 26. Jordens seems to have used no Bengali work, although reference is made to Rajnarayan's *Hindu Dharma Sresthata* (p. 308). Again Jordens writes that, "the Swami..... felt a great affinity with Akshoy Kumar Datta, ... 'a rationalist agnostic'..... who was primarily responsible for freeing the Brahmo Samaj from the thralldom of the Vedas .. and had published an important study on Hindu sects". (p.81). That study, it should be noted, was not altogether an original work; vide *Bharatkosh* (ed.) Sushil Kumar De et al (Bengali encyclopaedia) (Calcutta: Bangya Sahitya Parisad, n.d.), p 5. Also see Mahendranath Roy, *Babu Akshoy Kumar Datter Jiban Brittanto* (Bengali) (Calcutta, Sanskrita Jantra, 1292, B.E.), p. 155.
16. Chandra Sekhar Sen was chiefly instrumental in bringing him to Calcutta. He met Dayananda along with Satyabrata Samashrami of Bengal Asiatic Society, in Beneras. Samashrami published a detailed account of Dayananda's Beneras debate. They described the activities and organizations of the Brahmo Samaj to Dayananda. They invited Dayananda to visit Calcutta. That invitation was reiterated by Debendranath Tagore when he met the Swami a few weeks later during the *Kumbha Mela* at Allahabad. J.T.F. Jordens, *op. cit.*, p. 70. Again we have references of some Bengali railway employees of Mughalsarai, alongwith Dinanath Gangopadhyay of Halisahar, inviting Dayananda to their town. Letters were exchanged between them and the editor of the *Hindoo Patriot* on many occasions (17th January, 14th February, 28th March & 4th April, 1870; i.e. long before the coming of Dayananda to

Bengal). They pondered over Dayananda's desire to open a Vedic school at Calcutta and the possible expenditure that it might incur as a result. Dayananda had also met with two other Bengalis such as Kshetro Mohan Ghosh, a Brahmo. at Kanpur and Rev. Lal Behari. Day at Dumraon before coming over to Calcutta. J.T.F. Jordens, *op. cit.*, p. 69 & 95.

17. J.T.F. Jordens, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
18. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
19. Jordens is not specific as to which branch of the Tagores accommodated Dayananda at Calcutta. It was the Tagores of the Pathuriaghata, who were traditional Hindus in their religious inclination, sheltered him and not the Tagores of Jorasanko, who were mostly Brahmos.
20. "The redoubtable Hindu iconoclast, Pandit Dayananda Saraswati, who recently discomfited the learned Pandits at Benares in an open theological encounter, and has otherwise made himself famous throughout Northern India, has come down to Calcutta", quoted in D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
21. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
22. D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
23. P.S. Basu, *op. cit.*, p. 295.
24. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
25. *Ibid.*
26. D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
30. J.T.F. Jordens, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
31. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
33. *Ibid.* Surprisingly enough Radha Raman Mitra does not refer to any such meeting in his most topical discussion on this matter. Radha Raman Mitra, 'Kalkatai Vidyasagar' (Bengali) (Vidyasagar in Calcutta), *Aitihāsik*, July & December, 1976, pp. 1-32 & 1-26. It should be noted that Vidyasagar himself was instrumental in bringing about substantial changes in the curriculum of the Sanskrit College aiming chiefly to instruct the students in learning Sanskrit in a modern method. Radha Raman Mitra, *op. cit.*, July, p.4.

34. Dayananda, during his stay at Calcutta, repeatedly emphasized the idea that Sanskrit learning remains incomplete without Vedic studies. The then Governor General, Campbell, was considering the idea of closing down the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. Dayananda is said to have supported the idea on the ground that such institutions are useless which do not provide Vedic instruction. He prepared a draft for the upgrading of the Vedic school, founded by Prassana Kumar Tagore at Mulajore by the inclusion of the Vedic studies to its curriculum and handed over it to Naba Gopal Mitra. D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
35. "His project of a Vedic school in this city, it seems, has not met with public support". *Indian Mirror*, March 9, 1873; quoted in *ibid.*
36. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Indian Mirror*, January 12, 1873, quoted in D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-166. Both H. Chakraborty and D. Mukhopadhyay refer it as "Asiatic Museum". But from internal evidence, i.e. purchase of books, it seems that the place, which Dayananda went to visit, was the museum of the Asiatic Society and the person, who accompanied him, was not Rajkumar Vidyaratna, as Jordens refer it (p. 85) but Ramkumar Vidyaratna. It must be a spelling mistake.
40. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
41. Nagendra Nath Chattopadhyay, *Mahatma Dayananda Saraswatir Sankhipta Jibani* (p.1) quoted in D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.* p. 166-167.
42. *Ibid.*
43. J.T.F. Jordens, *op. cit.*, p p. 77-78.
44. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
47. D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
48. *Ibid.*
49. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.
50. D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-178.
51. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
52. J.T.F. Jordens, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

53. Upadhyay Gour Gobinda Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 960.
54. D. Mukhopadhyay quoting a report of the *Indian Mirror* gave the date as 22 February. But it was actually printed in the *Indian Mirror* of 24th February. Probably it is a printing mistake in Mukhopadhyay's book. D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
55. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
56. *Ibid.*
57. We have references of two other lectures delivered by Dayananda at Calcutta on 'Worship of One God' and 'Duties of Man', but the venue of them were not stated. See Upadhyay Gour Gobinda Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 960 and Har Bilas Sarda, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
58. *Indian Mirror*, March 9, 1873, quoted in D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
59. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
60. *Ibid.* and D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
61. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
62. *Ibid.*
63. D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
64. Har Bilas Sarda, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
65. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
66. D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
67. Har Bilas Sarda, *op. cit.* pp. 93-95.
68. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Har Bilas Sarda, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
71. J.T.F. Jordens, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
72. Charles H. Heimsath, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116.
73. J.T.F. Jordens, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-71, 74.
74. The incident that occurred was as follows : One day when Dayananda was talking to the people assembled at the garden house, Sourendra Mohan drove there and summoned Dayananda inside the house. Dayananda declined pointing to his preoccupation with his discussion with the people there. At last Sourendra Mohan himself went upto him and after a short while put a question regarding the place of origin of some voices. Sourendra Mohan

felt displeased when Dayananda expressed disgust over Sourendra Mohan's inability to understand what Dayananda explained in reply. D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 164. A letter published under the signature of 'a resident of Barranagar' in the *Somprakash*, spoke something ill about Dayananda. It was probably instigated by Sourendra Mohan, so D. Mukhopadhyay suspected by a close study of it. When some other persons, favourably disposed towards Dayananda tried to contradict the contention of the letter in the *Somprakash*, they were not obliged by the editor of the *Somprakash*. Ultimately their letter was published in the *Hindu Hitoisini* of Dacca and 'absolved Dayananda of those false charges'. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

75. Sivnath Sastri, *History of the Brahmo Samaj* (Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 1974), 2nd ed., ch. IV.
76. "It is surprising that although he (Dayananda) is a staunch supporter of the Vedas, he is not a non-dualist. His path is not of piety and love. His views will be acclaimed more widely as he will ascend the higher stages of theological maturity from his present primary state." *Dharmattwa*, 1st Chaitra, 1794 S.E. pp. 901-902.
77. Sivnath Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 444. It was the Brahmo Samaj of Lahore, which invited Keshab Chandra to counter the influence of Dayananda in that place in October, 1875.
78. "He (Dayananda) has recently arrived at Calcutta in course of his mission of conquering all the four sides. We can not tell for certain what noble aim he maintains like Sankaracharya, who also conquered all the four sides to promulgate the non dualist doctrine. But it seems from hearsay reports of his way of discussion that he only aims at securing personal glory by displaying own pedantry." Editorial, *Somprakash*, 12th Falgun, 1279, B.E. quoted in D. Mukhopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 164-165.
79. H. Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
80. Radha Raman Mitra, *op. cit.*
81. When the news of Dayananda's coming to Calcutta reached Chandra Sekher Sen, he first approached Dwijendranath Tagore for the Swami's accommodation, who expressed his inability. Sen there-upon sounded Sourendra Mohan Tagore, who also did not show much interest. But when Sen drove Dayananda from railway station to the house of the Tagores of Pathuriaghata, Sourendra Mohan arranged for it with usual courtesy. D. Mukhopadhyay *op. cit.*, p. 162.
82. Ramesh Chandra Datta (tr.) *Rig Veda* (Bengali) (jt. ed.) Debiprasad Chattopadhyay & Mani Chakraborty, (Calcutta : Gayan Bharati, 1963), p. 16.
83. Charles H. Heimsath, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
84. J.T.F. Jordens, *op. cit.*, 9.93.
85. *Tattwa kumudi*, 16th Falgun, 1804. S.E. p. 258.
Tattwa kumudi, 1st Baisakh, 1805, S.E. p. 4-6.
Tattwa kumudi, 1st Kartik, 1805, S.E. p. 144.

Tattwa koududi, 16th Jaistha, 1804, S.E. p. 48.

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Tattwa koududi, 1st Aswin, 1804, S.E. pp. 123-124.

86. Umakanta Upadhyay, *Arya Samaj Kalikata : Satabdir Itihas* (Bengali) (translated from Hindi) Priyadarsan Sidhantabhusan (Calcutta ; Arya Samaj, 1988), pp. 1-25.

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Arya Samaj Movement in Meerut in the Nineteenth Century [1878-1900]

Gita Srivastava

Swami Dayanand, the founder of Arya Samaj, set in motion strong religious, social and even political currents embodying a close and intimate reference to the past glory and cultural heritage of India, and reacted sharply against western influence. India, at that time, needed a movement that would prove her equal of, if not superior to, Europe in the domain of culture.¹ Christianity, Islam and even the orthodox Hinduism presented problems before him. Hindu society had sunk to almost its lowest points in the 18th century.

Dayanand was a profound Sanskrit scholar. He maintained that monotheism was the creed of the Vedic religion. He criticised the view that Vedic worship was nature worship and declared that the Vedic hymns refer only to one supreme Godhead, who himself takes the form of many gods and bears many names.² He denounced the caste system and adopted active measures to ameliorate the condition of the untouchables.³ The fundamental doctrines and rules of conduct were: The Arya Samaj shall regard the Vedas alone as independently and absolutely authoritative; every member shall contribute a hundredth part of the money towards the Samaj; the Arya Vidyalayas and the Arya Prakash paper and the Vedas and the ancient Arsha-granthas shall *be studied and taught in the Arya Vidyalayas* and the right training shall be imparted on Vedic lines.⁴

The Arya Samaj represents in one of its aspects a revolt against orthodoxy but in another it presents equally a revolt against western ideals, for in the teachings of its founder, it has found an aggressive gospel which bases the claims of Aryan i.e., Hindu supremacy on the Vedas as the one ultimate source of human and divine wisdom⁵. In order to strengthen the Hindu religion the Samaj accepted and purified the individual and admitted him in the Samaj, be he Christian or Muslim. In this respect the Arya Samaj was modern, Indian and cosmopolitan.⁶

In this paper an attempt will be made to study the progress of Arya Samaj movement in Meerut District in the late nineteenth century. The growth of Arya Samaj movement in Meerut can be divided in two phases: the first phase covers the period 1878 to 1900 and the second phase covers the period 1900 to 1947.

In the first phase the Arya Samaj established and consolidated itself as in the process of *khandan* (to refute) and *mandan* (to prove one's own case) it experienced a lot of trouble and confrontation with orthodox Hindu and other religious groups.

Dayanand Saraswati travelled continually from one place to another for the propagation of Vedic religion, and experimenting various forms of organisations. Even before the formal establishment of Arya Samaj at Meerut in late 1878, he had visited the city three times^{6a} and delivered speeches denouncing caste system, idol worship, child marriage and extolling inter-caste marriages. During his fourth visit to Meerut Dayanand was hosted by Babu Damodardas, a leading citizen, and delivered lectures in the corridor of his bungalow⁷ where people assembled to hear his oration and sought clarifications of their doubts about religion and God. After a week he went to stay with Rai Ganeshi Lal, the proprietor of *Jalwai-i-toor* press⁸. His arrival in the city and his programmes were advertised in the city through handbills and pamphlets. Speeches, debates and private discussions continued for several days. A Muslim gentleman was keen to do religious battle with him; he was ready for the '*shastrarth*' but only on the responsibility of some Hindu *rais*, to which the man did not agree.

After a week's stay at Rai Ganeshi Lal's house, Swamiji shifted to Lala Ramsaran Das's house. The lectures delivered by Swamiji included different subjects and attracted disciples as well as opponents. His attacks on idol worship, child marriage, traditional death rituals and food taboos and his insistence on Vedic infallibility proved highly controversial. Of equal importance was his aggressive, belligerent mode of address and enthusiastic response he inspired. The opposition reacted immediately. On the 9th September 1878, the *sanatanists*, the *Sanatan Dharm Rakshini Sabha* (The Society for the Protection of Eternal Religion) of Meerut and leading Hindu *rais* collected at the temple of Vilvashwar Mahadev and invited Swami Dayanand for a religious battle through an unsigned letter but containing the names of many pandits and leading Hindu *rais*. The Swamiji rejected the letter as it was unsigned and had not come through Lala Kishan Sahai. On 12th September, Lala Kishan Sahai's son Lala Munna Lal came to him and said if Swamiji was defeated in *shastrarth* he would have to abandon his attack on idol worship. The challenge was readily accepted by Swamiji. But no one turned up with the letter of proposal. Instead, Shri Gopal and Pandit Bhagirath, the two orthodox Hindus of the city, challenged him for a religious battle, but it was not accepted by him as these people were known to be ill tempered. He however agreed for a religious battle with other *pandits*. On the intervention of some Arya samajists he agreed for the *shastrarth* and the same was conveyed to Lala Kishan Sahai, who did nothing in this direction.

From 14th to 22nd September, 1878, Swamiji delivered speeches at the residence of Babu Chedilal Gumaste Cussriat. Once again, the *Sanaton Dharm Rakshini Sabha* tried to involve him in a religious *shastrarth*. Letters were exchanged between Swamiji and the *Sabha*, all of them unsigned, proposing rules and their modifications.⁹ But once again the much publicised *shastrarth* could not be arranged.

Inspired by Dayanand's lectures and private discussions and religious discourses his followers decided to establish Arya Samaj in Meerut in his presence on 29th September 1878.¹⁰ The total number of members initiated into Arya Samaj was 81¹¹ (see appendix) drawn from various classes of profession and social status and included men of riches, intellectual businessmen and government employees.¹² Lala Fakir Chand and Lala Dwarkadas, the two elites of the town, were also the members of the first Arya Samaj of Meerut.¹³ It is rather very surprising that Lala Munna Lal Sahu, the son of Lala Kishan Sahai, the great opponent of Swamiji and an orthodox Hindu, also joined the Arya Samaj; he was later elected to the post of treasurer which he served until his death¹⁴. The office bearers of Samaj were:¹⁵

President : Pandit Kundan Lal, a Secondary School teacher;

Vice President : Lala Ramsaran Das;

Treasurer : Babu Chedi Lal Gumasta;

Librarian : Babu Jagannath ji rais;

Secretary : Babu Anand K. Lalji, a government employee;

Joint Secretary : Pandit Amba Prasadji, an employee in the Canal Department.

Opposition to Dayanand reoccurred at Meerut and followed much the same pattern as it had in other places. Without exception, Dayanand's most violent confrontations were with the forces of orthodoxy. Here lay his sharpest criticisms and the most dramatic responses. By comparison, his criticism of Christianity and Islam provoked genteel and limited confrontation. There were secondary targets receiving lesser attention or his sharpest tongue. Reeling under his attack the forces of orthodoxy reacted sharply on many levels. He was not only challenged by them, they tried to inflict physical harm also. One Beni Prasad and his friends approached Swamiji with the sinister motive of having a physical test with him, but they returned disappointed. Another person, a Seth, became so much annoyed with his anti-orthodox preachings that he employed some *gujars* to manhandle him; they too were not successful. Dayanand's attack on traditional death rituals and food rituals (*shradh*) invited the wrath of *brahmins* and *mahabrahmins*. He deplored child marriage and conducted a fiery crusade against it. He succeeded in rallying public opinion in favour of his views. He warned *brahmins* that they had forgotten their duties and were so

much involved materially that they had forgotten to propagate the true Hindu religion.¹⁶ He tendered counsel to a sub-judge of Meerut, Shri Bakhtawar Singh, whose younger brother had been married at the age of 16 years, not to bring his wife until he attained the age of 25 years.¹⁷ The Arya Samaj fixed the minimum marriageable age at 16 for girls and 25 for boys on the principle of Veda.¹⁸

Swami Dayanand came to Meerut for the fifth time on January 15, 1879, and stayed in the city for one and a half month and got printed some pamphlets for the *kumbhmela* at Haridwar.¹⁹ The sixth visit of Swamiji lasted for nineteen days, from May 3, 1879 to May 22, 1879. He was given a rousing welcome when he arrived accompanied by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel H.S. Olcott²⁰, founders of the Theosophical Society. The Madame and the Colonel had several meetings with Swamiji and their conversations concerned mainly God, Veda and yoga. They privately and publicly declared themselves to be Arya. They delivered lectures enumerating the importance of vedic religion and discrediting Christianity.²¹

Because of his preoccupations elsewhere, Swami Dayanand could not pay an early visit to Meerut. He paid his seventh visit to Meerut on July 8, 1880.

The condition of women was deplorable at Meerut as elsewhere in India. They were despised in the family and in the society. They were forced to live in *purdah* and were married at an early age. Dayanand advocated complete emancipation of women.²² He stressed that women should be educated. He therefore felt the need of an educated lady in the Meerut Arya Samaj *Kanya Pathshala* for the spread of Vedic *dharma* among women. Miss Ramabai, an educated Maharashtrian lady, was invited to lead the women's wing of the Meerut Arya Samaj and to impart education to them. Accepting the invitation she came to Meerut and stayed with Babu Chedilal Gumasta where Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky were already staying. Miss Ramabai delivered four or five lectures on women education and invited them to join Samaj. Dayanand's intention was that Ramabai should remain virgin and enlighten the women community with education and Vedic religion. But Ramabai did not agree with the proposal.²³

Dayanand had misjudged Blavatsky and Olcott's intention. In fact, so far Madame and Colonel had given him impression that they agreed with the views of Arya Samaj and would make Theosophical Society a branch of the Samaj. But during there second sojourn at Meerut they made it clear that they did not believe in Veda and God.²⁴ A dialogue ensued between Dayanand and the Colonel and Madame which continued for four days; on the fifth day they left for Amritsar without arriving at any conclusion. The same day, Dayanand in an ordinary meeting of the Samaj severed his link with Theosophical Society.

On the occasion of second anniversary of the Meerut Arya Samaj, a special invitation was extended to him to preside over the function. He arrived here from Muzaffarnagar on 27th September 1880 and stayed until 6th October, 1880. He delivered two lectures, discussed about the functioning of Arya Samaj and Theosophical Society and criticised Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky. He deplored Theosophical Society and warned Arya Samajists not to join it. One month later he paid his last visit to Meerut but delivered no lectures and held no meetings.²⁵

After the death of Swami Dayanand on October 30, 1883, the Aryas were left without their *Guru*. Dayanand had no spiritual heir to ensure ideological continuity nor any scientific institutional structure to broadcast his message. Hence, local Samaj was free to act and believe according to its own conscience. Yet a rough consensus existed both in belief and goals. In the meetings of the Samaj, after the death of Swamiji, it was decided to found a school or a college in honour of the departed prophet, where Vedas might be taught side by side with other disciplines. In 1887, on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of the Meerut Arya Samaj, a Girls' School was founded by the Assistant Secretary of the Meerut Arya Samaj Dr. Ram Chandra. Expenses for running the school was borne by Dr. Ram Chandra, and his wife voluntarily contributed her time for teaching the girls. Women met twice a month and door to door services were done to encourage women education.²⁶ Many years later, the Dayanand Anglo Vedic College Trust and Managing Society for North-Western Provinces and Avadh was established. The Trust raised Rs. 21,000 from general public, poor shopkeepers and menials; Meerut Arya Samaj contributed Rs. 7,000. In the same year Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School was founded.²⁷

Earlier, on December 29, 1886, the Provincial *Arya Pratinidhi Sabha* was founded in Meerut with the aim of organising and uniting the Arya Samaj Sabhas of the state.²⁸ Its constitution was drawn up by the then President of Meerut Arya Samaj, Laksman Swarup, with the help of Lajpatrai, Lal Chandra and Lala Dwarka Das. The constitution was passed at the first meeting of the *Pratinidhi Sabha* at Meerut Arya Samaj Mandir.²⁹ In 1887 'Arya Debating Club' was also founded, which was later converted into '*Arya Kumar Sabha*' in 1905. The 'Club' had the blessings of many elites of the town, notable among them were Narayan Prasad Vaidya, Amba Prasad and Brij Nath Mittal, Advocate. The 'Club' members met at Arya Samaj Mandir on every Sunday evening and worked as volunteers in all Arya Samaj functions.³⁰

As elsewhere in India, the Christian missionaries were very active in Meerut in the 19th century. They had launched a violent attack against Hindu religious and social institutions and were trying to prove that Indians were unfit for self govern-

ment. Missionary schools for boys and girls were being opened and churches were built at Hapur and Sardhana. They had the patronage of the government and ample funds to execute their plans. A large number of persons, mostly of lower caste, were converted into Christianity, some even forcibly. Dayanand, though opposed to Christianity, did not attack it with all the force at his command. However, after his death, Meerut Arya Samajists launched a violent attack on Christianity and tried to force converted Christians to return to their fold. Armed conflict ensued between Christians and Arya Samajists at various places in Meerut and its surroundings which resulted into many casualties on both sides.³¹ During Christmas 1893, missionary people held their conference at Meerut which continued until the first week of January 1894. The conference was attended by several hundred missionaries from all parts of the country. Meerut Arya Samaj was opposed to this congregation and the activities of the missionaries and replied in sharpest language to their criticism of Hinduism and Arya Samaj.³²

The credit for the spread of Hindi and *devnagri* script in the state goes to Arya Samaj. The question as to which language should be utilized in education and administration became serious first in the north-western provinces. Echoes of this debate were heard at Meerut also. Arya Samajists and Hindus strove to replace Urdu with Hindi, and launched a campaign that saw a high degree of unity among all segments of their community. Meerut Arya Samajists wrote and spoke in support of *devnagri* script, the promotion of Hindi literature and particularly for its acceptance as the medium of instruction in schools and colleges and communication to the government. In 1899, Sir Antony McDonald issued an order allowing the use of *devnagri* script in administrative communications to the government alongwith Urdu in United Provinces of Agra and Avadh. Muslims reacted sharply against this order and convened meetings at Lucknow, Meerut and other places and unanimously requested the government to withdraw the order. But the government did not oblige them.³³

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3. S. Natrajan, *A Century of Social Reform in India*, Bombay, 1959, p. 17.
4. Lajpat Rai, *Arya Samaj*, p. 103.
5. Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest*, London, 1921, p. 27.
6. H.D. Griswold, *The Problems of Arya Samaj*, Lahore, 1901, Introduction.
- 6 a. Dayanand visited Meerut first in the first week of March 1866 and stayed at Suraj Kund Mandir. Next he came to Parikhshatgarh and Garhmukteshwar while returning from

Kumbh fair in 1866. The same year he paid his third visit to Meerut and stayed with Deputy Mehtab Singh at Suraj Kund and left for Saharanpur on 7th February, 1867 (Report File No. 1940-1978, Vijai Singh Jigyasu. Secretary, Arya Samaj, Budhanagate, dated October, 1954; Courtesy Shri Indra Raj, Secretary, Arya Samaj, Meerut).

7. Pandit Ghasi Ram, *Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati ka Jiwan Charitra*, vol. II, Ajmer, Samvat 2015, p. 121.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
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13. Pandit Ghasi Ram, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
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15. Pandit Ghasi Ram, *op. cit.*, p. 132; also, Swami Satyanand, *Shrimadayanand Prakash*, Govindram Hasanand, Delhi, 1918, p. 304.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
18. R. C. Majumdar, *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Part II, vol. X, Bombay, 1965, p. 110.
19. Theosophical Society was founded in the United States of America in 1875 by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott alongwith others. (R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Vol. IX).
20. Swami Satyanand, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-321.
21. Dayanand Commemoration Volume, p. 112. Madame Blavatsky (1831-1891) was a Russian by birth. In 1873 she went to the United States of America where she met her co-worker Colonel H.S. Olcott. In 1875, the Theosophical Society was founded with Olcott as its life President. The object of the Society was to 'form a nucleus of the Universal brotherhood; a humanity without distinction of race, creed, and caste or colour; to encourage the study of comparative religion, philosophy and science and to investigate unexplained laws of nature.' See also, Syed Abdul Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 284.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 285. R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 266.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
25. Chandra Prakash (ed.), '*Meerut Arya Samaj ke Sau Varsh*', Meerut, 1978, p. 108.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.
29. Vishambhar Sahai Premi, *Aitihasik Nagar Meerut aur Maharshi Dayanand*, Uttar Pradeshiya, Arya Samaj Sthapna Shatabdi Samaroh Samiti, Meerut.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.
31. Shiva Dayalu, *Itihas Pratinidhi Sabha Uttar Pradesh (1886-1962)*, Lucknow, 1963, p. 86-87.
32. Vishambhar Sahai Premi, *op. cit.* pp. 98-99.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 106. In the census of 1891 the total membership of Arya Samaj in India was less than forty thousand. In Meerut alone there were 5056 Arya Samajists in 1901. (R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Meerut Gazetteer, vol. IV, The District Gazetteer of the United Province of Agra and Oudh, edited by H.R. Neville, Lucknow, 1982, p. 78.)

APPENDIX

The members of Arya Samaj founded on September 29, 1878 at Meerut*

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| (1) Rai Ganeshi Lal, Proprietor
Jalwa-i-toor press | (29) Lala Sita Ram, Muzaffarnagar |
| (2) Babu Bahaki Lal, Clerk, Canal
Department | (30) Munshi Kalyan Rai, Teacher,
Saharanpur |
| (3) Lala Chandrasen | (31) Pandit Baldev Sahai, Village
Bhawan |
| (4) Pandit Kishan Lal | (32) Lala Prag Das, student, Govt.
School |
| (5) Lala Pragdutt | (33) Lala Chunni Lal Mistri |
| (6) Lala Baldev Prasad | (34) Lala Munna Lal Sahu |
| (7) Lala Bishan Sahai | (35) Babu Todar Mal Jain |
| (8) Lala Kripa Shankar, Baghpat | (36) Pandit Vishambhar Sahai |
| (9) Babu Surajbhan, Accountant | (37) Lala Ganga Saran |
| (10) Munshi Lalita Prasad | (38) Babu Naptimal, Artist |
| (11) Pandit Gopi Nath, Head Clerk,
Jail | (39) Lala Nathal Das, Bookseller |
| (12) Pandit Behari Lal, Clerk, Jail | (40) Babu Balmukund |
| (13) Munshi Shyam Sunder, Office of
Superintending Engineer | (41) Lala Ganga Prasad |
| (14) Munshi Basheshwar Dayal | (42) Lala Jawala Nath Kanoongo |
| (15) Pandit Behari Lal, Teacher
Normal School, Meerut | (43) Lala Badri Prasad |
| (16) Babu Bhola Nath, Clerk,
Inspector of Schools Office | (44) Bakshi Kishan Lalj, Muharrir,
Municipal Fund, Meerut |
| (17) Pandit Ajodhya Nath | (45) Babu Kishan Charan Sarkar,
Clerk, Superintending Engineer,
Meerut |
| (18) Babu Ganeshi Lal, Clerk, Office
of Superintending Engineer | (46) Pandit Chandra Ram |
| (19) Lala Chunni Lal, Draftsman,
Ganges Canal | (47) Pandit Bateshwar Prasad, Drafts-
man |
| (20) Dr. Ram Chandra | (48) Raghubar Dayal |
| (21) Lala Ganeshi Lal, Draftsman | (49) Babu Madan Mohan Dutt |
| (22) Lala Nand Ram | (50) Dr. Basant Rai |
| (23) Babu Shiv Prasad | (51) Babu Dwarka Nath Ghosh, Clerk,
Commissioner's Office |
| (24) Lala Devi Prasad | (52) Babu Munna Lal |
| (25) Lala Ram Lal | (53) Lala Mathura Das |
| (26) Pandit Devi Chand, Copy writer | (54) Lala Shambhu Nath, Post Office |
| (27) Chaudhary Mohan Singh, Landlord
Village Nasadara | (55) Pandit Balmukand, Head Clerk,
Jail |
| (28) Munshi Dal Chand, Headmaster,
District School, Muzaffarnagar | (56) Lala Jagan Nath Kanoongo, Hapur |
| | (57) Pandit Ganga Prasad Patwari |

*Pandit Lekh Ram, 'Moharishi Dayanand Saraswati Ka Jiwan Charitra', Arya
 Sahitya Prachar Trust, Delhi, p. 420-421.

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| (58) Lala Shyam Lal | District School, Meerut (President) |
| (59) Lala Jyoti Swarup | (73) Lala Ram Saran Das, Rais, |
| (60) Lala Bhola Nath | Vice President |
| (61) Lala Chet Ram | (74) Babu Chhedi Lal Gumasta, |
| (62) Munshi Ram Saran Das | Treasurer |
| (63) Lala Munna Lal | (75) Pandit Jagannath, Rais, Meerut, |
| (64) Shri Manohar Charan Saranrai | Librarian |
| (65) Rai Kamta Prasad, Proprietor, | (76) Babu Anand K. Lal, Secretary |
| Sahl-i-Hind Newspaper | (77) Pandit Amba Shankar, Second |
| (66) Harihar Hira Lal | Clerk, Canal, Deputy Secretary |
| (67) Lala Jaisi Ram | (78) Pandit Pali Ram, Teacher, Normal |
| (68) Chaudhary Gulab Singh | School, Meerut |
| (69) Lala Hira Lal | (79) Babu Udai Chandra Banerji, Clerk, |
| (70) Lala Mithumal | Commissioner's Office |
| (71) Babu Jugal Kishor | (80) Pandit Pran Dutt |
| (72) Pandit Kundan Lal, Second Master | (81) Lala Ganga Sahai |

Swami Dayanand, Bihar and Aryasamaj

Surendra Gopal

An intellectual awakening in India in the second half of the nineteenth century consequent upon the spread of new education, awareness of natural sciences, machine dominated technology, and a sense of combativeness against the western civilization resulted in intense questioning and/or affirmation, modification of tradition as reflected in religions, beliefs, customs, manners and style of everyday living. The position taken up by the newly emerging leadership varied from total rejection of the tradition to compromise and integration with the new forces as well as reaffirmation of the old order. The intellectual ferment touched in varying degrees almost all parts of India and all the major religious communities. One message which evoked significant response in the Hindi heartland was that of Swami Dayanand, the founder of Aryasamaj in 1875.

It is interesting to note that Swamiji before establishing his organization had taken care to prepare the ground for this momentous step by extensively visiting the different parts of the country and by evaluating the response and reaction to his ideas which he placed before his audiences. Keeping this in view, it is not surprising that Swami Dayanand paid first visit to Bihar, the eastern fringe of the Hindi heartland, and a very populous area several years before he established the organisation Aryasamaj.

Swamiji entered Bihar in 1872 from Varanasi and halted in Dumaraon, then the seat of an old and important Zamindari in Bihar. He stayed with the Udasi saint Naga Baba.¹ It seems to me that his visit to Dumaraon was well thought out. Dumaraon was one of the biggest Zamindaris in Bihar and the support of its chief would have certainly helped in garnering further local support. Secondly, the two Zamindars of Dumaraon, Maheshwar Singh and Raja Radhaprakash who were at the helm of affairs between 1843 and 1894 were fairly liberal in outlook. Raja Radhaprakash described as 'nature's gentleman'² took into his service followers of Brahmo Smaj and from time to time he welcomed Brahmo preachers at his court.³ He was therefore familiar with attitudes opposed to traditional religious beliefs and practices. Furthermore, the need for efficiently managing the Zamindari had compelled him to employ Bihari officials who had received the new education to superior positions. They included liberals, such as Harbans Rai, Jai Prakash Lal⁴ etc. Hence, Swamiji was assured of a cordial welcome and a patient hearing of his views.

Swamiji was asked to expound his religious tenets by entering into a religious disputation with Khakhi Baba⁵, a venerable saint of the area and a known supporter of Hindu orthodoxy. It is said that the logic of Dayanand's arguments was unassailable and victory remained with Dayanand. We have no details of the discussion but Dayanand's forceful exposition must have impressed and caused consternation among the orthodox section since sometime later, Khaki Baba published and circulated a pamphlet entitled '*Swami Dayanand Ki 14 Parājay*' (Fourteen Defeats of Swami Dayanand)⁶. However, at the same time, Swamiji must have won for himself love and respect of the Bihari intelligentsia for he was invited to the nearby town of Arrah, the District headquarter, where again there was a concentration of educated Hindus: administrative functionaries, lawyers, doctors, teachers, etc.

At Arrah, Swami Dayanand stayed with Sri Harbans Rai at the garden house of Dumaraon Raj⁷. He gave two public lectures in which he denounced idol-worship, *Shrāddh* or funerary rites performed after the death of a Hindu, child-marriages and a local orthodox saint Kanphukwa Guru⁸. He also spoke at a public meeting held in the local school.⁹

The orthodox section was appalled; the local traditional Brahmin priests Pandit Rudradatta and Pandit Chandradatta took up cudgels on behalf of the conservative Hindus and challenged Swamiji to a religious disputation. Once again, Swamiji's knowledge of Hindu scriptures and eloquence overwhelmed his opponents. His two successive successes must have won him public esteem and Swamiji decided to set up an organization in the town to propagate his view on social and religious ills afflicting the Hindu society.¹⁰ The organization did not last; we do not know what led to its failure, its significance lies in the fact that it was the first public organization set up by Swami Dayanand in Bihar.

The immediate and positive public response to the message of Swamiji was primarily due to the presence of a small group of intellectuals among the Hindus, already exposed to the new education and the new socio-religious forces sweeping across the country. It should not be forgotten that some of stalwarts of Bihar in public life in the nineteenth and the early twentieth century belonged to this district. Mention may be made of Biseswar Singh, Saligram Singh, Raja Rajeshwari Prasad Sinha, Sir Jwala Prasad, Sachchidanand Sinha,¹¹ etc. Some of them actively associated themselves with the Indian National Congress in the nineteenth century. Thus when Swami Dayanand visited Arrah, the mind of the educated section of the local residents was prepared to listen to views and ideas, critical of several prevailing socio-religious practices.

From Arrah, Swami Dayanand arrived in Patna, the largest town and the chief educational, administrative and economic centre in Bihar. Here his host was

Sawanmal, Deputy Magistrate and a well educated individual.¹² It may be noted that his primary supporters at this stage were those who had received the new education and were conscious of the winds of change blowing over the country.

Swamiji stayed in a garden called Bhup Singh's Bagh, situated near the ruins of the historic Pataliputra and Agam Kuan.

At Patna, Swami Dayanand delivered talks and lectures on the Vedas and their salient features. Here again, he was queried, questioned, assailed and hailed by the audience. An orthodox group led by the local Pandit Ramjiwan Bhatt challenged him.¹³ It is reported that Dayanand's arguments could not be countered and the Pandit and his followers left in a huff.¹⁴ Among those who came to listen to the lectures of Swamiji were Sri Guru Prasad Sen,¹⁵ a distinguished lawyer and a well-known citizen, Pandit Ramavatar Tiwary, and Pandit Chhotelal Saraswat, etc. Ramnath Tiwary,¹⁶ a student of Patna Normal School, who attended these discourses, was so much impressed that he decided to leave everything and stay with Swamiji and help him in the propagation of his ideals. Swamiji also spoke at a meeting held in the Patna Normal School.¹⁷

The point to note is that the educated section of the population was taking notice of the activities of Swamiji and hence the leaders of Hindu orthodoxy could not also ignore him.

Another incident during his stay in Patna is worth recalling. A group of Maithil Pandits, known for their mastery over Sanskrit language, grammar, literature philosophy etc. took objection to his criticism of the Bhagwat. They contended that presently none could write eighteen thousand couplets contained in the work. Swamiji retorted by saying that he could compose thirtyeight thousand such couplets. The Pandits asked him to compose some on the theme 'Juta Kharaon Ka Samvad (dialogue between shoes and wooden slippers)'. Swamiji instantly composed and he recited some couplets and Pandits left after being deeply impressed by his command over the Sanskrit language and grammar.¹⁸

In short, throughout his stay, he drew the local intelligentsia to himself and impressed them through his scholarship.

While in Patna he also met with a local Hindu scholar of Arabic, Munshi Manohar Lal (resident of Gurhatta Mohalla in Patna City) who translated for him the Korān into Hindi. Swamiji acknowledged this help in his preface to the first edition of his *magnum opus*, *Satyartha Prakash*, published from Moradabad. He wrote that "the fourteenth chapter of the work was composed after consulting the translation of the *Korān* prepared by Munshi Manohar Lal of Patna City."¹⁹

It could be safely said that Swamiji's stay in Bihar did help him to sharpen his outlook on socio-religious questions and at the same time won for him a name among the local intelligentsia.

Swamiji left Patna city on 30, November 1872 and arrived in Munger, another town situated on the banks of the river Ganges. He stayed in a Kabir Math and during his stay of four days, he delivered four lectures on different topics. Mauni Sadhu, a leader of the orthodox Hindus, entered into a religious disputation with him, but ultimately he had no answer to the arguments advanced by Swamiji.²⁰

A subsequent local follower of Arya Samaj, Dr. Kartiki Prasad Deo purchased the piece of land where Swamiji had delivered his lectures and constructed a palatial building for the local office of the Arya Samaj.²¹

From Munger, Swamiji arrived in Bhagalpur, another town of Bihar on the banks of the river Ganges. He stayed in the temple of Yudhistharnath near the Chhapatia pond, situated in the Mirjan Hat Mohalla.

Bhagalpur had a fair number of educated Indians including some Bengalis, who were keenly interested in socio-religious reforms. Some of them had become ardent followers of Brahmoism, another protestant faith of Hinduism, which had originated in the neighbouring province of Bengal only about four decades back. Hence, the local audience, already familiar with protestant views of reformers, listened to Swamiji's discourses and lectures with rapt attention. No one came forward to challenge Swamiji for holding a religious disputation. Nibaram Chandra Mukhopadhyay,²² an eminent Bengali resident of the town and an ardent Brahmo, invited Swamiji to deliver a lecture on 'Duties of Man'.²³ In course of the lecture, Swamiji touched upon the futility of rituals such as *Shraddh* and *Tarpan* performed after the death of a Hindu by his relations. The local Bengali residents were highly impressed by Swamiji's speeches in simple Sanskrit. A deeply-impressed Bengali Brahman, who had turned Christian, confessed to Swamiji that had he listened to his discourses earlier, he would not have given up his original religion.²⁴

Swamiji was also invited by the Zamindar of Banaili, an orthodox Brahmin and the largest Zamindar in the district. Swamiji spoke to him about the harmful effects of polygamy. The Zamindar, Nitya Nand Singh, was advised to use medicines if he desired to sire children.²⁵

Swamiji once again showed how far he had moved away from orthodoxy when he invited a Muslim Maulvi to sit near him even when eatables were kept there.²⁶

Swamiji's simplicity and catholicity of outlook was noted by members of other faiths as well.

Swamiji used to get his food from a businessman. He however discovered that the businessman was really interested in being blessed with a son through his blessings. Hence, he stopped taking the food sent by him.²⁷

Swamiji's anguish was great when he witnessed Hindu orthodox practices performed on the banks of the Ganges for the dead. It is said that he refused to take food on that day during the night.²⁸

At Bhagalpur the father of Ramnath Tiwary, who had attached himself to Swamiji at Patna, requested him to free his son. Swamiji willingly acceded to his request.

Swamiji left Bhagalpur for Calcutta on 12 December 1872,²⁹ and completed his first visit to Bihar.

It can safely be said that during his sojourn of nearly three months, Swamiji had an opportunity of meeting a cross section of the Hindu intelligentsia as well as the chief upholders of orthodoxy in all the important towns of Bihar, south of the river Ganges. He was able to put across his viewpoint and win several adherents to the message he propounded.

Swamiji spent nearly four months in Bengal, meeting and forming deep bonds of friendship with the local intelligentsia and Brahmo leaders such as Maharsi Debendranath Thakur and Keshub Chandra Sen, etc. There was no sense of competitiveness or hostility. Keshub advised Swamiji to deliver his lectures in Hindi to the masses and also to wear clothes, suited to different occasions.³⁰

Obviously the Calcutta visit gave him newer insights into the problems facing the country. While returning from Calcutta, he broke his journey at Patna in April 1873.³¹ He spoke at public meetings, answered questions, conversed with visitors and appeared before the masses.³² People flocked in large numbers to see him. He invited the orthodox Hindus to enter into a religious disputation so that he could clarify his position, remove their doubts, but none came forward. He decided to visit other areas of Bihar where he had not gone earlier.

Swamiji then crossed the Ganges and went to Chapra where his host was a distinguished local business-man, Rai Bahadur Shiv Ghulam Sahu.³³ A week long programme of discourses by Swamiji caused consternation among the orthodox section; it now decided to strike back. They selected the Sanskrit teacher of the local Zila School, Pandit Jagannath Mishra, to confront Swamiji on religious matters in a public debate.

Even before the public debate could take place, Pandit Mishra tried to back out; he declared that he considered it a sin to see even a face of

Swamiji. Swamiji remained undaunted; he opined that Pandit Mishra could sit behind a curtain while the debate continued. The latter could not wriggle out of the commitment.

The English teacher of the Zila School presided over the meeting. After some questions had been answered, Pandit Mishra conceded victory to Swamiji.³⁴

This programme ended his second but short visit to Bihar. He proceeded thereafter to the neighbouring province of Uttar Pradesh to disseminate his message.³⁵

As a result of these two visits, some of the Bihari admirers of Swamiji continued their contact with him. Among them was Madhav Lal, a resident of Dinapore Cantonment, sixteen kilometres away from Patna. Madhav Lal had established an organization 'Hindu Satsabha' in 1866 with a view to eradicating the socio-religious evils that afflicted the Hindus.³⁶ He was a regular visitor to the religious discourses, delivered by Swamiji, during his first visit to Patna. He and his companions Master Janakdhari Lal, Gulab Chand and his elder brother Karman Shah were convinced that they had found the right leader for the cause of socio-religious reforms among the Hindus.^{36a} He had entered into correspondence with Swamiji.

It is therefore not surprising that when Swamiji established Aryasamaj in Bombay, Madhav Lal, Janakdhari Lal and Thakur Prasad were present on the occasion.³⁷ Two years latter from Gujarat in the Panjab (now in west Pakistan), Swamiji wrote a letter of appreciation for the work Madhav Lal was doing.³⁸

In his letter dated 1.4.1878, Swamiji advised Madhav Lal to change the nomenclature of his organisation from Hindu Satsabha to Arya Samaj since the word Arya meant 'great and knowledgeable'³⁹ and the word Hindu could alienate the feelings of the Muslims and Christians.

When Madhav Lal informed him that on 28 March 1878 he had formally named Hindu Satsabha as Aryasamaj, Swamiji expressed his great pleasure in his letter of 12.4.1878.⁴⁰ The Dinapore Arya Samaj was the first Arya Samaj on the soil of Bihar and Bengal. Its first President was Janakdhari Lal and first Secretary was Madhav Lal.⁴¹

The establishment of the organization strengthened the bonds between Swamiji and his followers in Bihar. His admirers in Dinapore were now particularly keen that Swamiji should visit them, inspire them and show them the correct path. Hence, they planned to bring Swamiji to Dinapore.

In 1879 Madhav Lal sent Makhan Lal to fetch Swamiji from Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh. Earlier Bholo Nath and Makhan Lal had gone to Delhi to meet Swamiji and had extracted a promise that he would soon come to Dinapore.⁴² Swamiji arrived at the Dinapore Railway Station in the evening of 30 October 1879.⁴³ This

was Swamiji's third and last visit to Bihar. He stayed for twenty days and left for Benaras on 19 November 1879.⁴⁴

Swamiji stayed at the Digha Lodge, a Bungalow owned by Mr. Jones, a British businessman,⁴⁵ though for the first couple of days, his host was Madhav Lal. This again shows that Swamiji harboured no prejudice against any race and religion.

Dinapore was an important military cantonment and prior government permission had to be taken before any public function. The local government functionaries while permitting him to deliver public lectures or discourses expressly forbade him to say anything which might hurt the religious sentiments of others.⁴⁶ The anti Aryasamaj forces this time became very active and mobilised their forces to obstruct the progress of Swamiji's mission. Swamiji was not cowed down by the virulence of their opposition; he continued to preach his message without any fear. On this occasion, members of other religions also joined hands with the orthodox sections of his co-religionists.

Swamiji gave twenty-four lectures between 2 November 1879 and 16 November 1879 at Babu Mahabir Prasad's Katghara. In course of these lectures, he touched upon topics such as idolatry, performance of last funerary rites (*shrāddh*) by the Hindus, social-reform, national progress and salient features of Vedic religion. He also criticized some of the features of other religions in course of these talks.⁴⁷

The lectures of Swamiji created a strong sense of despair amongst the conservative Hindus. They invited Pandit Chaturbhuj from Aligarh to enter into a disputation or to refute the position adopted by the Swamiji. After his arrival, he was the guest of Sri Nandlal and Ramlal. He boasted that he had defeated Panditji in debates at thirty-two places. When this was conveyed to Swamiji, he denied 'even seeing his face'. He challenged him to enter into a discussion.

When Nandlal and Ramlal learnt that Pandit Chaturbhuj was merely boasting, they asked him to leave their house. He was, however, entertained by conservative Hindus and Muslims, who were bent upon to humiliate Swamiji.⁴⁸

They fixed the house of Kunjabehari Shah as the venue of disputation. When Swamiji arrived, Pandit Chaturbhuj hid himself in a room and his colleague Gobind sharan, who was also the secretary of the local branch of Dharmasabha, told Swamiji to hold the discussion with him. When Swamiji asked for the reason, he advanced the lame excuse that the eye-sight of Pandit Chaturbhuj was weak and hence, he would substitute for him. Swamiji pointed out that the discussion could be carried out orally. Gobindsharan told him that Pandit Chaturbhuj considered it 'a sin to see his face'. Swamiji countered it by saying that he could sit behind a screen.⁴⁹ However, the opponents were not keen on a throughgoing discussion. All they wanted was to publicly humiliate Swamiji. Hence, they put off the lamp and started making loud noises. Madhav Lal and Subedar Singh chided the rowdy elements and

came out of the house with Swamiji.⁵⁰ Outside, the mob hurled stones on Swamiji, who kept his peace and remained smiling.⁵¹ The cool shown by Swamiji impressed Subedar Singh so much that he became an ardent follower of Swamiji thereafter.

The opposition to Swamiji did not die out. Once while he was delivering a speech, a Muslim Maulvi was instigated to hurl unmerited accusations against him. Janakdhari Lal called for police protection and an English Police Inspector, Gilbert, arrived. He was so impressed by the oration of Swamiji that he became a regular visitor to his meetings along with his other English friends.⁵²

The intensity of opposition to Swamiji can be gauged from the fact that one of his followers Gulabchand Lal advised him not to criticise the Muslims since they quickly became violent and took to arms. Swamiji point-blank refused to heed him and insisted that he would speak the truth, come what may. He pointed out that he had criticized Bible in front of the Commander-in-Chief of India, Lord Roberts and there was nothing illegal about criticizing any religion. Therefore, there was no point in refraining from indicating certain unpalatable features in other religions.⁵³

Once, Mr. Jones, his host, visited Swamiji along with his English friends. Swamiji seated them by his side, an act of courtsey which considerably impressed the visitors.⁵⁴ They requested him to speak something to them. Swamiji then narrated the features of the Vedic religion. He pointed to them that the religion enunciated in the Vedas was for the well-being of the entire man-kind and should therefore be accepted.⁵⁵ It stressed truth, kindness, altruism, non-possession, right thought, etc. which found place in all subsequent religions. Finally, the Vedic religion, unlike Christianity and Islam, was not centred round any individual. The Vedic religion promised deliverance as a result of right conduct, and doing good to others.⁵⁶

When Mr. Jones queried that if the religion described by Swamiji was so liberal he should have no objection in partaking food with him. Swamiji replied that partaking of food with this or that individual did not effect the religion of any individual. Food habits depended upon local conditions.⁵⁷

On another occasion, Mr. Jones asked Swamiji to expound his views on 'Punya' or right action. Swamiji promptly replied that whatever was good for the society was the right action. He also dwelt upon the usefulness of banning cow slaughter. It is said that Mr. Jones was so impressed that he gave up beef-eating.⁵⁸

Mr. Jones looked after Swamiji with great care throughout his stay.

Thus Swamiji, despite all obstacles put in his way, left an indelible impression on all those who came in contact with him. The Dinapore Aryasamaj became the torch-bearer of the new faith in the eastern region of India and played a vital role in establishing its branches subsequently.⁵⁹

During this visit Swamiji also performed the 'sacred thread ceremony' of Madhav Lal an act which considerably roused the ire of the orthodox Hindus, who believed that only the upper castes were entitled to put on the sacred thread.^{59a}

While his first two visits had enabled him to develop local contacts in Bihar and were prior to the establishment of the Aryasamaj, his third and last visit was after he had established his organization. Hence, this time, if the support he received was wide-spread, the opposition was equally well-planned, well-organized and sufficiently violent. However, the new organization had become a centre of attention as well as criticism. During the next two decades Aryasamaj expanded its support base while facing attacks of conservative Hindus as well as non-Hindus.

A letter writer in *Bihar Bandhu*⁶⁰ on 24 March 1881 called upon the readers to extend greater support to Aryasamaj, which had been established to lift Bihar from the mire of backwardness. But its support-base remained narrow. Only some of the educated Biharis became convinced followers; the rest continued to retain their faith in the old religion which enabled the conservative leaders to mount ever-increasing attack on the new sect. Thus we find that Pandit Ambika Dutta Vyas published *Dayanand-matmūlocheda* (Refutation of Dayanand's views) in 1885⁶¹ from the Khadgavilas Press, the most important publishing house of Hindi books in Bihar during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

In order to lessen the charm of the new faith, the conservatives made several features of Aryasamaj, an integral part of their programme. For example, its call for cow protection was adopted by orthodox Hindus and the Khadgavilas Press published in 1880, a book *Go Mahima* (The Glory of Cow).

Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh of Darbhanga, the leader of Srotriya Brahmanas and Hindu conservatives, became actively associated with the Cow-Protection Association established by Swami Dayanand in 1882. In 1888 he resolved to donate two rupees per thousand of the income of his estate to the funds of the Cow-Protection Association. He became a patron of the Cow Memorial Movement and 'contributed a lakh of rupees in furtherance of the object'.⁶²

The conservatives, no longer, opposed the new education since it qualified men for administrative jobs and enabled them to enter into professions of law, medicine, etc.

Another section of the educated Hindus in Bihar, the Bengalis were already familiar with a protestant faith of Hinduism—Brahmo Samaj. Hence, if they felt any attraction for the new faith, they turned to Brahmo Samaj.⁶³ The Brahmo Samaj failed to make any significant impact on the Hindus of Bihar, Aryasamaj became a part of

the socio-religious scene in Bihar without being able to disturb the general picture. However, the handful of ardent followers kept aloft its banner.

By 1901, there were sixteen branches of Aryasamaj in Bihar and it was felt that an apex body should be formed to co-ordinate their activities as had already been done in the Panjab and Uttar Pradesh. The idea, born during the XXIV annual meeting of Dinapore Aryasamaj fructified in 1904. On 5 October 1904, Bihar-Bengal Arya Pratinidhi Sabha was formed at Dinapore with Bal Krishna Sahay, Pleader, Ranchi, as the first President and Mithila Sharan Singh, Pleader, Patna as the first Secretary.⁶⁴

The emergence of this apex organization in the State enabled the local activists of the Aryasamaj to interact more effectively and meaningfully with other Aryasamajists in the country. Hence, when on 25 September 1908 a meeting was convened in Agra for establishing a Pan-Indian body, two representatives from Bihar, Mithila Sharan Singh and Shiva Gobind Singh participated. They were among twelve members present. The former was the Secretary Bihar-Bengal Arya Pratinidhi Sabha and latter hailed from Gaya.⁶⁵

Preachers from other parts of India began to arrive in Bihar and local Aryasamajists also moved to other parts of the country to preach the message of Aryasamaj. In Bihar itself, new branches were springing up and in no distant future the organization diversified its activities: it opened institutions imparting modern education⁶⁶ and preached eradication of social evils. It attacked the caste-system, supported inter-caste marriage, upheld widow-remarriage. It stood for the abolition of the *pardah* system, and pleaded for the right of women to education and equal social status with men. It asserted the Hindu identity and was prepared to resist attack on it from whatever quarters they might come. The organization actively fostered humanitarian acts for relieving the miseries of children and women; it opened orphanages and houses for homeless women. All these activities were, of course, taken up in course of time, but some immediate results were evident.

Members of the peasant and trading communities felt encouraged to go in for modern education and subsequently, many among them took up non-caste occupations. They joined administrative positions, became lawyers, doctors, engineers, literateurs etc. Mention may be made of eminent physicians Dr. D. Ram and Dr. M. Das. The three sons of Madhav Lal became qualified physicians and the youngest, Lakshmipati was sent to Scotland for his medical studies. This was done at a time, when sea-voyage was considered taboo by caste Hindus.⁶⁷

Aryasamaj, dubbed as a traditionalist and fundamentalist, became a catalyst for modernization and westernization among the Hindus.

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16. Sarvendra Shastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.
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23. Sarvendra Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
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27. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
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29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, p. 10; Keshub Chandra Sen was a frequent visitor to Bihar and hence, he had realized that only through the use of Hindi could he put across his message to the masses. Surendra Gopal, 'Endeavour and Persistence...', *Indica*, 45 and 47. A year later Keshub further stated that for the unity of country, it was essential to use one language and that language could only be Hindi since it was spoken almost everywhere. *Sulabh Samachar*,

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Arya Samaj Movement in Jammu—1902-1947

Hari Om

It was only towards the close of the 19th century that the people of Jammu started thinking in terms of establishing socio-religious organisations. Earlier the conditions were not conducive for socio-religious reform movements. The attitude of the State Government towards socio-religious movements was all together indifferent. It is evident from the ban that the State Government had put on the formation of all types of social and religious societies.¹ The prior sanction of the Government was essential for the formation of any society. The societies so formed could discuss questions relating only to the ethical, social and religious matters. No organisation was allowed to consider or discuss directly or indirectly any question of political importance. Government servants could not take part in social organisations without obtaining prior permission from the Government. The activities of such Sabhas were closely watched by the Government through its police force.²

It appears that the State Government was not in favour of encouraging movements of socio-cultural nature. It was, probably, due to the influence of British authorities on the ruler (Pratap Singh, 1885—1925) and his officers. The British Resident, the representative of the Government of India, had complete control over the State administration. The attitude of the British authorities towards socio-religious reform movements was rather hostile because they were fully aware of the results of socio-religious movement in the British India. Even the publication of newspapers was banned.³ The first newspaper (*The Ranbir*) in Jammu and Kashmir State appeared only in 1224.⁴ It appears that it was the policy of the Government, controlled by the British Resident, to ensure that the people did not have any channel of expressing their grievances. In fact, the government did not like the people of Jammu to have any contact with the rising socio-political wave in the rest of India. It was primarily due to this reason that the movements of all visitors of suspicious nature were closely watched, and, on frivolous grounds, they were turned out of the State.⁵ In 1909, even a *Sanyasi* of the Rama Krishana Mission was turned out.⁶

Under these circumstances, no socio-religious reform movements could be started. However, towards the end of the last century, the conditions began to change, though slowly. The introduction of western education, and the construction of Jammu-Sialkot Railway line in 1890⁷ created some favourable atmosphere for the emergence of socio-religious movements.⁸ The founder of these movements were

influenced by similar movements in British India whose aim was "to lift up Indian society from abyss of superstition, obscurantism and stagnation into which it had fallen."⁹

Among all the socio-religious reform movements, which tended to have a national scope and a programme of reconstruction in the socio-religious spheres, the Arya Samaj was the most important one.¹⁰ The Arya Samaj was one of the earliest organisations to start a socio-religious reform movement in Jammu. It was established in Jammu in 1902.¹¹ Me'a Ram, a keen social reformer, was appointed its first President and Hans Raj its Secretary.¹²

The Arya Samaj introduced reforms of the most revolutionary character in social field. Believing in the central ideas of monotheism and infallibility of the Vedas, which the Arya Samaj regarded as God's words, it condemned a large number of old customs, institutions, beliefs and ceremonies.¹³ It denounced in strong terms the worship of idols, performance of *Shradhs* and distinction of caste by birth. It also denounced child-marriage and encouraged widow-remarriage.¹⁴

The Jammu city was the most important centre of all activities of the Arya Samaj. Being near to Lahore, the greatest centre of the Arya Samaj in the Punjab, it came early under the influence and impact of the Arya Samaj. It was mainly due to this reason that this movement made much headway among the masses in Jammu. There was yet another reason for the rapid growth of this movement in Jammu i.e., a large number of depressed classes like *Meghs Doods* and *Chamars* lived there who were deeply moved by the teachings of the Samaj. They, by joining the Samaj, could cut the shackles of untouchability and subsequently could attain high status.¹⁵ The Arya Samaj's denouncement of the caste system had a favourable impact on the depressed classes. The Arya Samaj undertook concrete measures to ameliorate the condition of the untouchables. In fact, the chief aim of the Arya Samaj was to admit the untouchables into the Hindu religion.¹⁶ In the beginning it started its activities in proselytising *Meghs* and *Doods*.¹⁷ It is evident from the letter of Captain Trench, Resident in Jammu and Kashmir, written to Dewan Amar Nath, Chief Minister of the State, in which he stated, "it was brought to the notice of Resident that the Arya Samaj has recently shown much activity in proselytising the *Meghs* and *Doods* of Sialkot District". The Resident also warned the Chief Minister that the Samaj had during the previous few months been very active in Jammu.¹⁸

In 1903, a great function was held at Sialkot to convert the low castes to Hindu religion. Mahant Ram Dass, a *Megh*, brought about 500 *Meghs* of Jammu and nearby areas to this function to convert them to Hindu religion. As a result they attained a high status by joining the Arya Samaj.¹⁹ The State Government did not

like the activities of Mahant Ram Dass and consequently he was warned against such activities. He was forced to give a security bond to the Government.²⁰

Like the Christian missionaries, the Arya Samajists established educational institutions in Jammu. In order to counter missionary activities and save the depressed classes from falling into the hands of the Christian missionaries, the Arya Samaj did its best to spread education among the downtrodden. The Arya Samaj also attacked the domination of aristocracy and priestly class on the society. The Samaj realised the supreme importance of education. In order to make the down-trodden believe that they were as superior as the caste Hindus and that education was not the monopoly of Brahmins, the Arya Samaj advocated education among the masses. It started primary schools for boys and girls of depressed classes at Jammu, Akhnoor and Chhamb.²¹ In these educational institutions they were admitted. It made arrangements for the study of Sanskrit and established Sanskrit Vidyapith at Jammu where classes for Rattan, Bhushan, Prabhakar, Pragya, Vishard and Shastri were started.²²

The Arya Samaj considered the depressed classes as a part and parcel of the Hindu religion. It did not consider the problem of untouchability from religious point of view. Untouchability, according to Samaj, was largely due to the bad environment in which the people lived. It was, therefore, simply a matter of cleanliness, hygiene and improvement of environment and as such it had no religious sanction behind it.²³ It was simply due to this reason that a large number of depressed classes of Jammu were admitted into the Arya Samaj.²⁴

The activities of the Arya Samaj were closely watched by the orthodox Hindus of Jammu. A large number of Arya Samajists had to suffer many hardships. Social boycott, even murder could be expected from the orthodox Hindus. For instance, Pandit Raghunandan was socially boycotted by the Hindus of Jammu as he accepted the appointment of a teacher in the school of depressed classes, started by the Arya Samaj.²⁵ Mahasha Ram Chand, a Mahajan of Jammu, and also an Arya Samaj leader, was brutally murdered near Domana, 15 kilometres from Jammu on Akhnoor road in 1944 for strongly advocating against untouchability.²⁶

During the census of 1941, the Muslims of Jammu and surrounding areas compelled the depressed classes to enlist themselves as Muslims. At this critical juncture, the Arya Samaj called a meeting of depressed classes and foiled the motives of Muslims. It was by the efforts of the Samaj that they recorded themselves as Hindus. The Arya Samaj, Jammu, tried to rehabilitate the uprooted people during the partition of 1947, and helped them in establishing a colony for them in Jammu.

Besides playing an important role in the socio-religious fields, the Arya Samaj of Jammu also indulged in political activities. Its leaders used to organise public meetings and take out processions for winning the sympathy of people for the non-cooperation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920. The leaders of the Arya Samaj impressed upon the people of Jammu the importance and necessity of boycotting English schools, renouncing of government titles and joining the Non-Cooperation Movement.³⁰ The Arya Samaj succeeded in enlisting the support of some government officials, clerks, teachers and some very high officials of the State.³¹ The Samajists appealed to the students to boycott the Prince of Wales College, Jammu. It also asked the doctors and lawyers to resign their services in order to work for the attainment of *Swaraj*. Its leaders also delivered lectures on "How to attain *Swaraj*."³² However, when on 8th April, 1921, the government drew the attention of the Samaj to this point, the president of the Arya Samaj gave explanation that the term *Swaraj* was not used by its leaders in political context but in religious sense (meaning *mukti*).

The attitude of the State authorities towards the Arya Samaj was not sympathetic. It was not a welcome movement for the State Government for two reasons. First the ruling family was following the prevailing Puranic faith, and secondly, the Arya Samaj was politically suspected in British India. The Chief Minister of the State, under the standing orders of the Maharaja, was required to closely watch the activities of the Samaj and take strict action against it as and when necessary. Sometimes, the Samaj was not allowed to hold *Jalsas* (meetings). As a matter of fact, Pratap Singh, guided and controlled by the British Resident, adopted a hostile attitude towards the Samaj. It was mainly due to this reason that the police force was asked to watch secretly and report on the activities of the Arya Samaj. However, the Arya Samaj inspired by the noble ideas was determined to achieve its ideals. In spite of the crippling hardships it continued with its mission.

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Sd/-
 Ram Dass
 3 Ashwan, 1960.
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Socio-Religious Activities of the Arya Samaj in Jammu and Kashmir State

S.C. Sharma

The nineteenth-century India was dominated by the interaction of two civilizations, the Indo-Mulsim and the Western as introduced by the Britishers. A multiplicity of social, religious and intellectual movements grew out of this interaction and among them the Arya Samaj was the most significant.

The Arya Samaj was founded in 1875 by the Vedic scholar, Swami Dayanand. The organisation embodied a constructive protest against traditional Hinduism and was theistic in its teachings. In 1877 Swami Dayanand² arrived at Lahore at the invitation of the eduacted Punjabis and Bengali residents of the locality³. During his nearly fifteen months stay in the Punjab, Dayanand founded a number of branches of Arya Samaj throughout the province.⁴

His vision of Hinduism, based on the infallibility of the Vedas, shorn of idolatory polytheism, Brahminical domination and the intricacies of the caste system found ready acceptance among the educated Punjabi Hindus⁵. The Samaj's slogan "Back to the Vedas" rightly interpreted proved that those who were inspired to write them were acquainted with the highest truth, which even modern science was yet to re-discover.⁶

The movement was directed against polytheism, casteism, idolatory and early marriage and vigorously promoted female education, the remarriage of widows and various philanthropic institutions.⁷ Swami Dayanand had a foresight which enabled him to see farther than most of his contemporary reformers⁸. Spread of knowledge found a prominent place in the ten principles of the Arya Samaj, which always initiated positive steps with a view to achieving substantial results in this direction.

On the occasion of the Delhi Darbar, 1877, Swami Dayanand organised a *Sammelan* in Delhi to attract the attention of the rulers of the princely States⁹. It was during this meeting that Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the then ruler of the State, came in contact with him. The Maharaja wanted to invite him to his State, but the idea was vehemently opposed by the orthodox section of the Hindus.¹⁰

Although, Dayanand personally never came to Jammu and Kashmir, his message reached the state through thousands of traders and State Govt. employees who were mostly Punjabis.¹¹ The proximity of Jammu to that of the Punjab also helped the spread of his movement in this State.

A branch of the Arya Samaj established at Jammu in 1891 was the first one in this area.¹² The road on which its office was located has now been named "Arya Samaj Dayanand Marg." The founding members of this Samaj were mostly Punjabis in the State service and some of them carried their private business.¹³ The very next year, in May 1892, a branch of that Arya Samaj was also established at Amira Kadal in Srinagar.¹⁴ Another branch of the Samaj, originally called Nagar Samaj, was established in 1895 at Jammu.¹⁵ It is now called Arya Samaj Purani Mandi, Jammu. By the end of the twenties of this century, Arya Samaj had established its branches at Maharaj Ganj, Huzufribagh and Rainawari at Srinagar.¹⁶ In Jammu province it had branches at Mirpur, Kotli, Bhember, Rajouri, Nowshera, Reasi, Ramban, Baderwah and Kishtwar.¹⁷

However, the Arya Samaj had to face opposition in the spread of its mission in Kashmir province. The movement started with the two fold aims of proselytisation and political propaganda.¹⁸ The Arya Samaj antagonised the Muslim population of the state through its *Shuddhi* (conversion programme) and vociferous utterances against Islam.¹⁹ In the beginning, its protagonists were successful in bringing a few Muslims and one Christian lady²⁰ into the fold of the Arya Samaj. But soon it had to face a strong opposition from Muslims and the Kashmiri Pandits.²¹ Kashmiri Pandits opposed the Samaj because the movement was dominated by non-Kashmiris who had been patronised by the then Maharaja Pratap Singh. So they started propagating the view that to become an Arya Samajist was to lose one's faith.²²

However, the movement being based on monotheism and infallibility of the Vedas, and shorn of Brahminical domination and rigid caste system²³ was acceptable alike to the enlightened Hindus who desired greater freedom and to the uneducated under-dogs who suffered most under the traditional order.²⁴

The proselytisation programme of the Arya Samaj was carried out mainly by a branch of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha known as the *Shuddhi Sabha*.²⁵ It was brought to the notice of the Resident that the Arya Samaj was active in proselytising the *Meghs* and *Dooms* of Sialkot district.²⁶ The Resident was also given to understand that the Samaj had been very active in the Jammu region.²⁷

However, the opposition notwithstanding, the movement gathered momentum. Beginning with 79 persons in 1901, the number of the Arya Samajists rose to 1047 in 1911 and to 23,116 in 1921.²⁸ Early in 1923 a session of the Hindu Mahasabha was held at Varanasi at which a resolution was passed for fighting untouchability.²⁹ It urged all Hindus to allow the lower castes the use of all wells and places of worship without any inhibition or hinderance at any level.³⁰

Being in constant touch with the Centre of the Arya Samaj, the Samajists of the Jammu and Ranbir Singh Pura Tehsils did commendable work as far as proselytisation among the depressed classes was concerned.³¹ Consequently their numbers in the State rose to 93,944 in 1931.³² Out of these 93,373 were in Jammu Province, 468 in Kashmir and remaining 104 in the frontier districts of the State.³³

The Kashmiri Pandits, by and large, did not join the movement for fear of ex-communication. Still by 1915, a few Kashmiri Pandits organised an Arya Kumar Sabha as an independent socio-religious organisation based on *Sanatanist* principles of Hinduism³⁴. But later it was affiliated with the Arya Samaj, Amira-Kadal, which was a branch of Arya Samaj Pritinidhi Sabha, Lahore.³⁵

The Mirpur branch of the Arya Samaj achieved considerable success. It carried on proselytisation work in Mirpur, Kotli, Koli Ralta, Poonch, Rajouri, Nowshera, and Bhember. In the decade ending 1921, it admitted over nine thousand *Besihis* in to the fold of Arya Samaj.³⁶ During the next decade it reclaimed 2500 *Chamars*.³⁷ In 1923 with the establishment of a branch of the Arya Samaj at Kathua the reclamation activities in the district received powerful support from the *Dooms* and the other depressed classes.³⁸ The credit for such proselytisation work in this district goes mainly to Rambhaji Dutt of Gurdaspur, a zealous and active enthusiast of Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Lahore.³⁹ He arranged a big *Shuddhi Yajna* at Kathua where thousands of Harijans were given sacred threads.⁴⁰ This raised the strength of the Arya Samaj in the district from 7,930 to 16,271 during the decade ending 1931.⁴¹

The Udhampur branch of the Samaj also did a commendable work in the field of the *Shuddhi* movement. In 1921 there were only 24 followers.⁴² The efforts of the *Shuddhi Sabha* raised their strength to 17641. Obviously, the Arya Samaj presented a record of phenomenal progress.⁴³

However, in 1941 the adherents of the Samaj numbered 87356,⁴⁴ as against 93,944 in 1931. The fall in their number was due to the fact that in 1941, a Conference of Harijans was convened by the Arya Samaj at Kheri Village in Jammu district.⁴⁵ There, it was declared that the Harijans were part and parcel of the Hindu society and therefore, they should get themselves recorded as Hindus in the Census of 1941.⁴⁶ It was accepted because of the growing numerical and political strength of the Muslims.⁴⁷

However, the holocaust of 1947 gave a severe set-back to the movement, particularly in the present Pakistan occupied areas like Mirpur, Kotli, Bhember and a portion of Poonch and Rajouri. Almost the entire Hindu population of these areas became refugees. But after their rehabilitation these displaced people, wherever they settled in sizeable numbers, established Arya Samaj centres.

In social life, Arya Samaj tried to raise the age limit for marriage and also propagated widow remarriage.⁴⁸ To begin with, the movement did not register much success on account of the hostility of Kashmiri Pandits and orthodox sections of the Brahmins in the State.⁴⁹ But, with the passage of time, some enlightened Kashmiri Pandits gave their co-operation to the Samaj in this field.⁵⁰ The evil effects of child-marriage were publicised and propaganda in favour of widow-remarriage was also carried out with positive achievements in this regard.

It was remarkable that during the decade 1920-30 the Arya Samajists arranged the marriage of half a dozen widows at Srinagar.⁵¹ In Jammu Province numerous widow-remarriages were arranged by the different branches of the Arya Samaj at different places.⁵²

The Arya Samaj was also the most potent force in the State for the spread of education among the masses. The real work of the Samaj in this field began after the death of Swami Dayanand in 1883. The leaders of the organisation felt that the prevailing system of education was unsuited to their national needs. "A new system of education wedded to the ancient ideals and tradition", was, according to them, the only answer to the growing problem.⁵³

Therefore, the Arya Samaj made education the chief plank of its programme of reforms. At Wazir Bagh, Srinagar, it maintained a girls' school up to the middle standard where the number swelled to about 100 by 1931.⁵⁴ It also ran a Vanit Asharam at Rainawari, Srinagar, where widows were given lessons in three R's and were also taught embroidery and weaving work to enable them to earn a living.⁵⁵ It also opened a reading room where members of the movement were required to read religious literature or to discuss various aspects of the Hindu religion and society.⁵⁶ In 1910, an Arya Kanya Pathshala was started at Huzuri Bagh, Srinagar, by Smt. Devki Devi.⁵⁷ In 1940 a branch of the D.A.V. College and High School was started in Srinagar.⁵⁸

In Jammu Province, educational activities of the Samaj were not confined to only one locality. It opened pathshalas for depressed classes at Rehari Mohalla, Ranbir Singh Pura in Jammu District, at Rejoa, Chehi, Bhuani, Mergledevi and Kangri in Mirpur and Rajouri districts and at Garh Andral and Kalkur in Kathua district.⁵⁹

The Arya Samaj held female education as one of its cherished objectives. Therefore, a number of Arya Kanya Schools and Pathshalas were opened in Jammu, Udhampur, Akhnoor and Mirpur.⁶⁰ Except for Arya Kanya Pathshala Mirpur, which is now in Pakistan occupied Kashmir, all these institutions are flourishing in the State. The efforts of the movement bore fruit and in 1931 the Aryas excelled all religious groups in female education in various age groups.⁶¹

The Arya Samaj had some indirect impact on the social life of the people of the State. It was due to the activities of its protagonist that some young and enlightened Kashmiri Pandits organised a body, known as "Fraternity", in 1930.⁶² This organisation became an important medium for propagating the idea of reforming the Hindu society.⁶³ The objectives of the fraternity were the eradication of wasteful expenditure at weddings, spread of education among girls, freedom for the widows to remarry, revival of cultural activities, improvement in community's health and change in their dress, to make it aesthetically decent and climatically suitable for the people living in the valley of Kashmir.⁶⁴

Not only many enlightened people of the State but Maharaja Hari Singh himself also had close links with the Arya Samaj movement.⁶⁵ Arya Samaj was brought on the list of the receivers of the family donation of the Maharaja.⁶⁶ It seems probable that the Maharaja had thrown open the public wells and schools and colleges to the untouchables.⁶⁷ He also announced the throwing open of all State temples and *Devasthan*s to the depressed classes for *Darshan* and prayer.⁶⁸ It was a radical step which ushered in a new era in the history of Hinduism of the State.

In the field of education, the Maharaja also announced compulsory education in the cities of Jammu, Udhampur, Mirpur, Srinagar, Baramulla and Sopore.⁶⁹ Special scholarships were sanctioned for the students belonging to the backward communities and no where any institution could refuse admission to any one of them on caste grounds.⁷⁰

In the field of child marriage, the marriage of boys under 18 and of girls under 14 years was prohibited in this State, even before the Sharda Act was promulgated in British India.⁷¹ In 1931 widow-remarriage was also allowed in the State.⁷²

The workers of the Arya Samaj, it appears, waited upon high officials and rulers of the princely State and tried to impress upon them their duty towards the orphans and other handicapped children of their own territories.⁷³ It was through this movement that Hindu orphanages⁷⁴ were opened at Ved-Mandir, Jammu and Basohli in Kathua district which later on received Govt. patronage.⁷⁵

The influence of Arya Samaj on the Maharaja is reflected in his last will wherein he gave all his personal property to a trust, which is managed by Dayananda College Prabandhak Society and Trust.⁷⁶ This trust is running the Maharaja Hari Singh Agricultural School at Nagbani near Jammu. As per the will of the late Maharaja, the kith and kin of the depressed classes are given free education, boarding and lodging in this school.⁷⁷ In this context it is significant to reveal that no less a person than Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan, who retired as Chief Justice of Supreme Court of India, was appointed the first Chairman of the Board of Trustees.

Although, the Arya Samaj had to face stiff opposition from the orthodox sections of the Hindu society, the movement remained a bulwark against drinking, casteism, idolatry, and early marriages and vigorously promoted female education, the remarriage of widows and various philanthropic institutions in Jammu & Kashmir State.

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Ag: Group

61. Religion

	5-10 Years	10-15 Years	15-20 Years	20 & above Years
Hindus	262	192	103	55
Aryas	476	382	279	163
Muslims	134	105	64	36
Sikhs	357	297	221	124

Table compiled from Pt. Anant Ram and Pt. Hira Nand Raina, *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XXIV, Part-I, Jammu, 1933, p. 225.

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Arya Samaj and Rise of Nationalism in Punjab

Shyamala Bhatia

Swami Dayanand's appeal to regenerate the Aryavrata struck a responsive cord among the western educated Punjabis who had been groping in the dark, waiting for a mission in life. He realised the alienation these educated men were feeling, "The Europeans do not care for you, whilst the natives of the country look upon you as followers of an alien religion." He also challenged them, "Even now it is not too late for you to recognise your mistake and further the cause of your country"¹, when "you hold that all truths come from God, why don't you accept the truth embodied in the Vedas revealed to sages by God"? He told them that they had not been able to help their country because "they borrowed a few religious beliefs from Mohammadans and few others from Christians" and urged them to read Vedas and "Profit by the knowledge embodied in them."² Realising that western education had raised doubts about prevalent form of Hindu religion in the minds of the educated the Swami urged them to "embrace Vedic religion which is free from all doubts and enlightens one on all points."³ Realising and seeing the admiration these Indians had for western culture and western knowledge, Swami acquainted them with their country's past glory and told them that India had won praise from people from all over the world who "believed that Aryavrata is a philosophers stone whose very touch converts all base metals—poor foreigners—into gold-rich nobobs",⁴ and that "all knowledge that is extant in the world originated in Aryavrata."⁵ So he said we should "lovingly devote ourselves with all our heart, with all our wealth, and eye even with our lives, to the good of our country, the land of our birth, the land of the product of which we have lived, the land which sustains us still and will continue to do so in future."⁶

But mere words of dennciation and empty words of praise of past glory would not help the cause and achieve the aim, some constructive steps had to be taken. For this also the Swami showed them the way, "You would do well to join Arya Samaj and conduct yourselves in accordance with its aims and objectives. Otherwise you (will simply waste your lives) and gain nothing in the end"⁷ and "The way to recapture that ancient glory is to act in accordance with the Vedas."⁸

This was a direct challenge to the western educated Indians whose exposure to western ideas had made them sceptical of accepting prevalent form of Hindu religion. Here was a guru who could clear their doubts, give rational explanations for their religious practices, make them proud of their religion and heritage, give them an aim in life.

When he came to Punjab, he had already established an Arya Samaj at Bombay. Addressing the educated elite of Bombay which had shown a desire for establishing an Arya Samaj, he had said, "If you are able to achieve something for the good of mankind by a Samaj, then establish a Samaj."⁹ So the Samaj was set up for upliftment of whole society in both its "spiritual and material aspects."

Organisation of Samaj itself was a useful training ground in democratic institutions. At a time, when even in political field democratic ideas had not been implemented in India, Swami Dayanand introduced this principle in Arya Samaj organisation. Every Samaj had an elected President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer. Anyone above the age of eighteen, who paid 1% of his income for eleven months, irrespective of his social or economic status, could become a Sabhasad.¹⁰ The office bearers were elected every year. The local Samajes sent one delegate for every twenty members as their representative to Arya Pratinidhi Sabha and contributed 10% of their gross income to funds of Provincial Samaj. Rich and poor, educated and uneducated, men and women, all had a voice in these elections and all decisions taken were, taken in a collective spirit. Even Swami Dayanand never imposed his own ideas on others. At Lahore, members of the Samaj wanted to make him "chief patron" but he declined the offer and remained an ordinary member of the Executive Committee, accepting the decision taken in a collective body.¹¹ He also encouraged democratic functioning in Samajes and advised his followers that "if there is an unworthy President in the Samaj, it is your business to dismiss him and appoint another one, and manage your branch in a proper way."¹² So at a time when even in politically most advanced countries right to vote and a decision making was based on educational qualifications or economic or social status, Swami Dayanand, by establishing a Samaj and organising it on democratic principles belied the assertion that uneducated or economically weaker, cannot decide for themselves.

These democratic principles that the educated men had seen in practice in Samaj were later implemented in institutions established by them. The DAV College Trust and Management Society gave useful training in "government by committees." As Sri Ram Sharma says "here in its conclaves, the employees may challenge the employers, the unemployed may seek to teach wisdom to the most profitably employed, a non-lawyer member may openly seek to get the house override the legal opinion of a member of the highest judiciary in the country, the discussion of its 'budgets' may sometimes give points to our legislators."¹³ The Arya Samaj members brought up on these democratic principles disagreed with other Congress members in 1901 over the issue of Constitution.¹⁴

Another distinctive feature of the Samaj was complete freedom of thought, action and speech. Swami Dayanand urged the members to believe a thing "not because I say so, but because it is true and believe nothing in my speeches and writings that

appears to be untrue." At the time when British India government represented by Viceroy Lord Lytton was curbing freedom of speech, Swami Dayanand was implementing it in institutions established by him. He advised Aryas to discuss and ponder over the views held by others and only then discard or accept them. He appealed to Bombay Arya Samajists, "Brothers, the progress of the country is a task we have to accomplish in unison. In some matters difference of opinion have persisted among us. Why should we not pull together in these too. Where we have differences of opinion, a solution can be found as long as we sit together and discuss it in friendship. The bad condition of India has come about because we have quarrelled when differences of opinion arose. Civilised people first quench the fire of anger and debate the issues properly in friendship and without prejudice, and that is the way the country may achieve progress."¹⁶ Here it is significant that Swami did not try to impose his own ideas but gave freedom to Samajists to discuss and thrash out the problems and advised them to not to quarrel and most important, appealed to them that united action was important for progress of the country. How deeply has the Aryas imbibed these ideas is evident from a letter by Amolak Ram to editor of *Akhbar-i-Am*, where he tries to remove the misgivings which had arisen in minds of Sikhs regarding some remarks about Sikh gurus in *Satyarth Parkash* Amolak Ram writes "*Arya Samaj Dayanand Saraswati ko sirf insan samajhta hai, Har insan se galti ho sakti hai. Satyarth ke samay we halati-Panjab se puri-tharah waqif na tha.*"¹⁷ (Arya Samaj regards Dayanand a mere man and man can commit mistake, at the time of writing *Satyarth*, he was not fully conversant with conditions in Punjab). Similarly members of College Party opposed the view that Swami Dayanand was a rishi and "a rishi sees the truth and whole truth, so he was infallible."¹⁸ Thus Arya Samaj aimed at radical change in thought and life of people. "It gave a blow to blind faith and created in "people an urge that was bound to bring about unrest." It fostered "stength, sense of initiative, power of rebellion."¹⁹

Arya Samaj made Hindus fearless. Alongwith defending Hindu religion, Swami Dayanand adopted an offensive posture to meet onslaught of Christian missionaries. He did not stop at establishing supremacy of Hindu religion, he pointed out weaknesses and shortcomings in other religions - especially Christianity. These offensive tactics appealed to Punjabis.

Swami Dayanand took the initiative in reviving a forgotten ceremony of purifying the outcastes and low castes to reclaim them as Hindus as well as to reconvert Muslims and Christians to Hinduism. He declared that caste by birth was contrary to Vedic religion and performed a *Shuddhi* ceremony to assert his view that the prevalent form of caste system was not sanctioned by Hindu religion.

Hindus, who had for years been accepting erosions from their community were now told by Swami that Hinduism was also a proselytising religion. Aryas, especially

Punjabi Aryas took this task in hand and in several *shuddhi* ceremonies readmitted thousands of low caste Hindus like *Ods*, *Meghs* and *Rahtias*, as well as Muslims and Christians into Hindu fold. Thus they not only successfully checked Christians in-roads into Hindu community but also, by reconverting, reclaiming and converting they began to swell Hindu numbers in a province where numerically they were in a minority. Later Aryas like Mahatma Hansraj and Swami Shradhanand reconverted *Malkans* who had enmasse embraced Islam centuries earlier, and also 3,000 Hindus who had been forcibly converted to Islam by Moplas in 1921 in South India. Having reclaimed them Aryas also helped them in rehabilitation by opening schools for their education where technical training was imparted. They regarded the cause of depressed classes as combining "best of religion, best of humanity and best of nationalism."²⁰ Lala Lajpat Rai expressed sentiments of countless patriots when he said "the tiny barge of the Arya Samaj was at the time the barge of Hindu nationality."²⁶

The Aryas were nationalists to the core. They were also fearless fighters. Arya Samaj was undoubtedly a religious body, but its religion was all-embracing, it did not call upon its members to keep aloof from politics.²⁷ Swami had said that "self government is the best government"²⁸ and raised on this principle Arya Samajists believed that "political consciousness was one of the most important objectives of religious awakening because a political slave cannot expect to have spiritual release."²⁹ And these Patriots who had come to love the country and had learnt the lesson of boldness, self-denial and self-sacrifice from Arya Samaj sought to fight for country's freedom according to the same principles. Lala Lajpat Rai said, "The intelligentsia and its leaders are as a rule selfish, petty and cowardly. They do, no doubt, desire liberty, but are not prepared to make any sacrifice for it."³⁰ Arya Samaj's principles also generated fearlessness among its members, "If political work in this province is to stop, let it not stop because of fear for our personal safety or out of panic. Let the government stop it by order. If any such orders are given let us obey them. Obedience of such orders, will, we are sure, recoil on the needs of the government and will force people to seek other methods of carrying on their propaganda. We would not forget for a minute that we are engaged in a very sacred mission that of gaining political status."³¹ Similarly Shradhanand's paper "Saddharma Pracharak" began to criticise Bengal Government and British rule after partition of Bengal in 1905 because Government was not living upto its promise of justice for natives and so "it had no right to expect co-operation in administration of country."³²

These patriots, Lajpat Rai, Munshi Ram and others not only talked but also took an active interest in politics. By this time Indian National Congress had come into existence and it had been working for 15 years when in 1900 it was decided to hold its annual session at Lahore. Munshi Ram, steeped in Arya Samajic principles of self-help and self-sacrifice criticised the Congress for becoming awake only for a week

in a year and had not even a dozen "Congresswalahs willing to sacrifice their comfort in order to learn the wants of the masses and to acquaint the people with their rights and privileges"; what it needed was, "at least a hundred Congressmen full-time working in the service of the masses."³³ Lajpat Rai also agreed and suggested that only men who were willing to devote time be selected as members of the Indian Congress Committee. He felt that the best test of earnestness in a particular cause was to see if a man is prepared to spend his money for the same. So he suggested every member of the committee be asked to pay at least Rs. 5 a month towards Congress funds.³⁴ This clearly showed the influence of Arya Samaj where every member had to pay a part of his income.

When Congress advocated the twin movements of swadeshi and boycott, Arya Samaj praised these ideas, particularly the swadeshi programme, because as Munshi Ram said "It would enable people to take revenge for oppression" and felt that self-government for Indians could be meaningful only if Congress went to "masses/villages and acquaint people with their political rights."³⁵ When Mahatma Gandhi entered politics with an approach that included self denial Swami Shradhanand was attracted. He took part in processions in Delhi agitating against Rowlatt Bills. He signed Satyagrah vow and was "glad to join in Dharam Yudh."³⁶ Lala Lajpat Rai also equated national service with religion, "requiring the most rigid and ascetic course of life it is only one degree lower than absolute self denial of a Sanyasi."³⁷

If Aryas like Lajpat Rai, Amolak Ram, Rambhaji Dutt, Hans Raj Sawhney, Sangam Lal and Lal Chand tried to regenerate Aryavrat by raising political consciousness among Punjabis and Indians, by publishing articles, starting newspapers like *Punjabee* by leading agitations against unjust British acts and laws, then these and other Aryas also followed the Guru's advice to serve the nation, by propagating swadeshi, dispelling ignorance and spreading knowledge and by undertaking philanthropic activities. In 1891 in Punjab, number of literates was only 81,9383 and there were only 45446 literates in English. So pressing need of the time was education and not only education but right type of education, national education.

Swami Dayanand had believed that every man born into the world has a birth right to sound and liberal education. He had also said that education should be given free to all, the state and rich people providing money for that purpose.³⁸ The foreign government of India was not ready to take full responsibility for imparting education. The few schools and colleges it had opened were neither sufficient nor were they disseminating true knowledge which would have prepared men to serve the nation. Lala Hansraj's own experience in government school when he was flogged and later turned out of school for arguing with his headmaster about Vedic Gods, revealed the shortcoming of the education system.

The founders of DAV college agreed that introduction of Western education had "enlightened and improved many thousands minds", but they felt that this had created a gulf between educated and uneducated masses and a "class had come into existence which was incapable of materially influencing or being influenced by the uneducated masses." To remedy this, national education institutions were needed where study of national language and vernaculars would be encouraged, classical sanskrit would be taught for spreading knowledge of moral and spiritual truth, and at the same time for material progress of the country knowledge of physical and applied sciences would be disseminated."³⁹

Swami Dayanand had also believed that the cause of "political degradation of the country was lack of education, child marriage, untruthfulness, want of purity in life, neglect of study of Vedas and mutual feuds",⁴⁰ and his disciples tried to remove most of these obstacles in the path of national regeneration and political upliftment of country by mooted the idea of establishing a DAV school and college. But empty words of dedication would not have helped establish a college. For giving it a practical shape money was essential and dedicated men were required. Aryas of Lahore showed their determination to serve the country by donating Rs. 7000-8000 on the spot. It was the first time that people donated money not to sadhus and pundits, but to a public institution. In this way the DAV college became a symbol of religious change, and political aspiration. Later Lala Hansraj asked and got donation in lump sum of Rs. 550 for building a hostel, thus enabling many a Hindus to pay tribute to the memory of father, mother or other members of family.⁴¹

Hence, to spread knowledge, encourage and enforce study of Vedas and classical sanskrit and Hindi literature and to encourage study of English literature and sciences as well as to provide technical education the Aryas decided to establish this school, as the first step. Thus in establishing this school, which soon developed into a college, the founder aimed at national regeneration through education. Here moral and religious education was also to be an integral part of curriculum because, as Pandit Gurudatt said, "only a study of Vedas can bring peace."⁴² The DAV college made western education "safe by harnessing both its scientific quest as well as liberal learnings to the service of the community" and thus threw an open challenge to Macaulay's hopes expressed in his minute of 1835.⁴³

In order to foster a spirit of self-help and self-reliance it was decided that no government aid would be taken and the institution would employ only Hindu Indians.

Paucity of funds did not allow these enthusiasts to give free education, but even then fees charged in the DAV was 50% less than that charged in government schools.

Lala Lalchand in his speech proposing establishment of a college to perpetuate the memory of Swami Dayanand had said that "it would not only help to continue the work of reform, but will also prove of immense service to the country as a model, independent and self-relying educational institution."⁴⁴

"Learning, Piety and Patriotism" soon became the ideal of DAV College⁴⁵ and selfless service of dedicated men like Lala Hansraj personified this ideal. His example of selfless devotion created an urge "for national service in the minds of young men."⁴⁶ Hansraj had graduated in 1885 and he could have easily got a government job, but he offered his "life as sacrifice so that cause of Gods might prosper."⁴⁷ Hansraj, who was one of about 6000 graduates in India in 1885,⁴⁸ was infused with the spirit "to work for the cause of the Arya Samaj" and offered to work as an Honorary headmaster of proposed school. National schools had by this time come up in Aligarh and Poona, but they drew upon European experience and learning in administration and teaching while DAV was run solely by Indians. Lala Hansraj was the first Indian to assume the headmastership of a High School under purely Indian management. He was the first to try⁵⁰ the new experience of imparting western education and at the same time teaching his students to be proud of being Indians.⁵¹ The Punjab government, in its administrative report of 1887--88, recognised the success of the DAV school which "received no grant-in-aid, has supplied 19 successful candidates for entrance examination, or more than any other school in the province."⁵² In 1888 college classes were added and by 1895 college had begun conducting M.A. classes.

In a large measure the prosperity of the college was a result of dedicated service of Hansraj, but services of other men who were inspired by ideas of Swami Dayanand and living example of Lala Hansraj also were not insignificant. Lala Jaswantrai, Lala Balmokand, Lala Ishwar Dass Sahni and Bakshi Tekchand all served the college for sometime without taking any payment. Many of these as well as others were willing to serve the college on a subsistence allowance. Hence the "order of life members" was introduced. Men like Gokal Chand Narang, Lala Sain Das, Mehar Chand, Lala Parmanand, Ram Chand, Lala Diwan Chand, Bakshi Ram Rattan and Lala Devi Chand became life members drawing a subsistence allowance of Rs. 75 a month. These selfless workers, in the view of Lala Hansraj, "created a distinctive atmosphere of self sacrifice, simple living and high thinking."⁵³ They also helped lighten the financial burden on DAV college.

Swami Shradhanand was another Arya who also renouncing everything said, "My life was no more my own. It now belonged to all people."⁵⁴ He started another educational institution, the Gurukul Kangri, to train 'real Aryas' to revive ancient institution of *Brahmacharya*, to revive ancient Indian philosophy and literature and for producing missionaries to preach Vedic religion. Munshi Ram or Swami Shraddhanand

believed that the need of the hour was men of character, and religious unity and he tried to supply these wants by establishing Gurukul. So this was more revivalist and religious than the DAV but here also western education was not neglected.

The DAV and the Gurukul Kangri not only institutionalised Swami Dayanand's ideals, these institutions also became a symbol of self help, of self reliance, of selfless devotion, of dedicated service which influenced hundreds of boys and girls to lead a simple life, love the country and its heritage and to be Hindus. At the same time, these institutions were also symbols of social change—here all, rich and poor, from all castes studied together, and in college hostel they lived together, eating same food at same table. It was also a symbol of religious change—charitable donations were given for educating countrymen with the aim of social upliftment.

Another aspect of this principle of self-help was swadeshi. Swami Dayanand had said that two of the causes of advancement of Europeans were that "they allow boots and shoes made in their own country to be taken into courts but never Indian shoes...they value their boots much more than they do the natives of many other countries" and "they have been in this country for more than hundred years, and yet they wear thick clothing, as they used to do at home - ... they have not changed they are wise."⁵⁵ The Aryas decided to contribute towards development of India by using Indian things. The Maharaja of Jodhpur and everyone in the service of that State began to use Khadhi clothes made in Marwar.⁵⁶ Lala Sain Das and Lala Hansraj as well as Lala Lajpat Rai also took to using only Indian made things and clothes.⁵⁷ Long before swadeshi movement became a political weapon popularised by Congress, Aryas became votaries of swadeshi. It was in 1895 that Arya Samaj got printed agreement forms for use of swadeshi things and college students used to get them filled up by the people. Tailoring, Ayurvedic and engineering classes were started in DAV college so that technical education could be imparted to students as it would bring wealth to the nation.⁵⁹

As at this time India was governed by aliens, the Aryas did not like to cooperate with English in administering the country. Lala Hansraj's main concern was 'with training leaders for public life and public opinion, rather than government servants.'⁶⁰ Lala Sain Das and Lala Mulraj used to dissuade brilliant students from joining government service because they felt that this strengthened foreign government.⁶¹

The Aryas, led by Lala Lajpat Rai, Amolak Ram, Hansraj Sawhney, Lal Chand and Rambhaji Dutt proposed to and influenced Indian National Congress to set up two new committees, one for education and the other for industry, to suggest means for improving country.⁶²

Another aspect of the swadeshi and self-help ideology was the idea that "we must look after our own." Aryas were pioneers in undertaking relief operations for victims

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 of earthquakes and famines. Even students of Arya institutions, who went for relief work, did not take anything from the college.⁶³ This self-sacrifice in the service of humanity brought educated classes into touch with masses, thus bridging the gulf; it trained Hindu youth in method of social service and enabled them to make several experiments in reviving indigenous industries through cheap time-saving machinery for providing orphans with employment.⁶⁴

The Arya Samajists of early twentieth century were action minded. They were practical men. They loved India. They were fearless fighters. They were crusaders in the cause of social upliftment. They believed in self-reliance for India's economic growth. They were bent upon dispelling ignorance. They were freedom loving. They were steeped in democratic principles. Those Arya Samajists that turned to politics became principled politicians. This is what Arya Samaj had made them.

The government, especially the Punjab Government in opening years of this century, looked upon Arya Samajists and the Samaj with suspicion. Chirol felt that "every samaj was hot bed of sedition." This view was contested by many. Aryas said that they were nationalist, not seditionists, they were patriots not politicians, though they agreed with Census Commissioner Blunt that "arousing of an interest in national affairs is a natural result of arousing national pride."⁶⁵ They also agreed that the mission of the Arya Samaj was to "unfasten the chains of intellectual, moral, religious and social bondage", and it, "stands for progress on solid foundation and is engaged in building up the character of its people, it discourages sychophancy..... well if all this leads to a desire for political freedom, it has no reason to say no to it."⁶⁶

The Arya Samaj was "not anti-British, but it was pro-India."⁶⁷ As Dr. Griswold of Lahore said, "Swami seems to have taught that a return to the pure teachings of the Vedas would gradually fit the people of India for self-rule and that independence would ultimately come to them."⁶⁸ So the Arya Samaj was neither a political party nor was it seditious in its postures towards the British rule. It was nationalist in spirit and action. It influenced the thinking of whole generations of Punjabis in respect of their rich ancient heritage, gave them a sense of pride in their religion and culture and fired them with nationalist and patriotic spirit. Though intangible and not easily identifiable, or measurable, it made a tremendous contribution to the rise of nationalism in Punjab.

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Punjab Administration and the Arya Samaj (1877-1910)

S.C. Mittal

'Who is the enemy No. 1 of the British government in India?' The question was raised during the conversation at a provincial Congress meeting held at Lahore in August 1920 in which the Congress leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru were present. The spontaneous reply was, 'He would be Shradhanand'.² Which Indian organisation is the 'greatest enemy'³ of the British government and the 'most dangerous'⁴ and 'centre of seditious talk'⁵? The answer was 'the Arya Samaj'. It was the view of Sir Denzil Ibbetson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab in 1907. His view was based on the secret CID reports received by 'nearly every district Magistrate of Punjab'.⁶ Later Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, also expressed a similar view.⁷

Originally a religious movement, the Arya Samaj was revivalist in form and reformist in contents.⁸ It made much progress among the educated Hindus,⁹ particularly youngmen.¹⁰ To the British historian, it represents 'the first wave of anti-western reaction',¹¹ which had 'sometimes barely disguised more than merely Platonic desire to see the British disappear out of the Aryan land.'¹² To the British bureaucrat like Sir Michael O'Dwyer, it was 'a nationalist revival against western influence'.¹³ To the Muslims, it was hostile to the Government and the Muslims.¹⁴ To the Encyclopaedia Americana its main object was 'to check the advance of Islam and Christianity'.¹⁵ Officially it was a Hindu reformed church representing the reaction of Hinduism against the Christian religion, western science and western domination.¹⁶

The Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayanand on April 10, 1875 at Bombay. However, two years later, it was transferred to the Punjab and it took the healthiest root in the Punjab¹⁷ and soon Lahore became as its capital city. In April 1877, Dayanand visited Lahore and on June 24, 1877, the Lahore Arya Samaj was established. Swami Dayanand himself toured some of the important places of Punjab¹⁸ and founded nearly eleven Arya Samajas during his visits.¹⁹ After the death of Swami Dayanand on October 30, 1883 at Ajmer, the Arya Samaj became an influential movement in the Punjab. In 1886 the number of Samajs rose to 32 in twenty three districts. Again in 1890 its number increased to 55.²⁰ Most of the Arya

Samajas in Haryana region were established in 1890s.²¹ In fact, in a small span of years the Samaj increased in number, wealth and influence.²² It was claimed at the anniversary gathering of the Arya Samaj held in 1893 that there were Samajas in all the important towns and in several villages in the Punjab, in most of the principal towns of the North-Western Provinces and in a few places in Rajputana, the Bombay Presidency and Bengal.²³

As regards its numerical strength, the Arya Samaj had always been strongest in the Punjab. In the end of the first decade of the twentieth century (1909) there were seven principal associations in India, called *Pratinidhi Sabhas*, to each of which were affiliated the number of sub-associations or Samajas as given below.²⁴

Table showing the progress of the Samajas in 1909.

No. of the Central Association.	Approximate No. of Samajas affiliated.
1. The Punjab Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Lahore.	260
2. United Provinces Pratinidhi Sabha of Agra.	212
3. Rajputana Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Bharatpur	36
4. Bengal and Bihar Pratinidhi Sabha of Bankipur	45
5. Central Province and Berar Province Sabhas of Narsinghpur.	39
6. Bombay Pratinidhi Sabha of Bombay	35
7. Burma Pratinidhi Sabha of Mandalay	?

Similarly the Punjab provided the leadership to the Arya Samaj. Some of the earlier prominent leaders of the Samaj were Pandit Gurudatta, Lala Munshi Ram (later Swami Shraddhanand), Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Lekh Raj, Lala Sain Das, Lala Hansraj. In Haryana region also it provided leaders like Pandit Basti Ram, Lala Chandu Mal, Dr. Ramji Lal and Rao Yudhister.

It is significant to note as regards its financial position that the Arya Samaj during the said period of study did not depend on the government for any financial aid. It chiefly relied on its members and a large number of its sympathisers.²⁵ It had collected much funds and donations. Lala Lajpat Rai proved himself a great asset in the finance raising campaigns. For example, he had collected a huge amount in aid of the various institutions and social activities of the Samaj. In

1894, he obtained Rs. 1000 at Quetta and in 1895 he received Rs. 6000 in subscriptions for the DAV College, Lahore.²⁶ Similarly he received Rs. 17,000 in 1898 and Rs. 6000/- in 1902.²⁷ At the 26th anniversary of the Lahore Arya Samaj held in 1903 Rs. 35,000/- were subscribed in cash and further a sum of Rs. 15,000/- was promised as a result of the appeal of Lala Lajpat Rai.²⁸ He made extensive tours of various places in United Provinces for collection of funds.²⁹ Bhai Parmanand, the Prof. of History in DAV College, Lahore also went to Burma to collect funds for the college and brought back Rs. 10,000/- in cash.³¹ Similar efforts were made by Pandit Rambhuj Datta.

Broadly speaking, the Arya Samaj was the first 'mass movement'³² in the Punjab. Swami Dayanand never learnt English and he wrote in Hindi. Naturally this made him more intelligible to the masses in Northern India. The Arya Samaj played a significant role in various spheres. Officially its activities and programmes could be divided in three parts, I religious and social, II, educational and III, political or national or secret work.

In fact the galvanic force for the reform of Hinduism came from the Arya Samaj.³³ Basically being a reformist movement, it attacked some aspects of Hinduism which is based upon the *Puranas*. Its founder Swami Dayanand discarded idolatry, incarnations and preached monotheism. In nutshell, Swami Dayananda claimed *Vedas* as a source of all eternal knowledge.

In the social sphere, Swami Dayanand attacked child marriage, denounced caste rigidity and propagated the remarriage of widows. Its members supported the Age of Consent Bill, 1891. According to the Deputy Commissioner, Gurgaon, "This is the only religious movement which has spread during the last ten years. One great result of its spread has been the diminution in expenditure of marriage and other occasions, which is a move in the right direction."³⁴ It also established orphanages and Homes for the widows.³⁵ It advocated the freedom of movement from one caste to another based on *Gun* (virtue) *Karam* (action) and *Swadhya* (self study).³⁶ It made sincere efforts to raise the status of the untouchables and the social uplift of the lower and oppressed classes. In 1884 it launched a Shuddhi (purification) movement to prevent low caste Hindus' conversion to Christianity or Islam and to bring them to their original *dharma* i. e. Hinduism.

In educational field also, important contribution was made by the Samaj. At a public meeting held at Lahore in 1885, it was decided to perpetuate the memory of Dayanand by establishing an institution. As a part of this scheme, the Anglo-Vedic High School was established in June 1886, while in 1888 a college was started under the Presidentship of Lala Hansraj. Upto 1893 it had started a number of schools for boys and even for girls. The Arya Kanya Pathshala was opened in 1890 which was soon raised into Kanya Mahavidyalya on June 14, 1890. Similarly in early 20th cen-

tury, a net work of Gurukul system attracted the people. The first Gurukul was established at Gujranwala in Punjab on May 16, 1900 which was transferred to Kangri (Haridwar) on March 4, 1902.³⁷

The above mentioned multifarious activities of the Arya Samaj made a profound influence and stimulated a new spirit among the people of the Punjab. Generally the activities of the great educational institutions of Arya Samaj like DAV College Lahore, Kanya Mahavidyalya, Jullundur, Gurukul Kangri, Haridwar, were appreciated even by the British. For example, J. Ramsay MacDonald wrote, 'Whoever walking through the DAV College, sees its rooms, the pictures and texts on the wall of its offices, talks with its officials and teachers, who are all Indians, cannot fail to feel how different is the atmosphere there from any of the other colleges in Lahore or elsewhere.'³⁸ Even the staunch critic of the Arya Samaj, Sir Michael O' Dwyer, had written in the Visitor Book of the Kanya Mahavidyalya, Jullundur in 1916: "Jullundur is a historical place, but Kanya Mahavidyalya has made it popular in the whole country."³⁹

However, the national or political activities besides the other activities perturbed and upset the British administration. In the words of J. Ramsay MacDonald, 'It (the Arya Samaj) is aggressive. It makes no apologies. It challenges and fights. That is why when it began to influence the national movement as it was bound to do, the combative attitude with which it conducted itself made it so detested by official minds. To belong to the Arya Samaj was to carry the badge of a seditious disposition.'⁴⁰

Though the Arya Samaj was originally a socio-religious organisation, yet the British officials considered it as a political body. To them, Swami Dayanand himself was intent upon 'the regeneration of Arya Varth', and the words 'Patriotism' and 'Nationality' were constantly on his lips.⁴¹ The watchwords of the Arya Samaj were 'Back to the vedas' and 'India for the Aryans (Indians)'.⁴²

As early as 1879 at the time of the second anniversary of the Lahore Arya Samaj British officials noted the tone of the discussions and lectures stressing national unity and self-help rather than religious and social problems.⁴³ Similarly, in 1882 the highlight of the programme included a lecture by the Secretary of the Lahore Samaj on Nationality.⁴⁴ Again in 1893 the main speakers laid emphasis on 'national character'.⁴⁵

During the period 1882-1892 two significant factors gave strength to the whole movement. Firstly, it was the establishment of the DAV school in 1886, which had given not only the impetus to open more schools at various places but also soon it became the nucleus of the Arya Samaj activities in the Punjab. Secondly, a group of influential leaders like Lajpat Rai, Munshi Ram and others grew up. Lajpat Rai was soon recognised as 'one of the most energetic leaders of the seditious move-

ment'.⁴⁶ He first came to the notice at the meeting of the Indian National Congress in 1888 when he took part in the proceedings of the Congress.⁴⁷ He spoke that Ireland had obtained her rights by fighting and that the people of this country gained nothing by their humility and prayers.⁴⁸ In 1894, he spoke at a meeting convened to protest against the exclusion of cotton goods from the Tariff Act.⁴⁹ Similarly, Lajpat Rai's first instance of anti-missionary attack came to notice in 1894 when he urged in a public address that it was incumbent upon the Hindus to assist the father of a lad who had been converted to Christianity to get back his son from the missionaries.⁵⁰ Anyhow, the Congress could not become popular in the Punjab until the end of the 19th century.

However, in 1900 in the Congress session at Lahore, for the first time nearly one hundred Samajis attended the session and several of them made speeches. Naturally, their entry as an organisation gave impetus to the Congress. In fact, it can be called the official entry of the Arya Samaj in the political field.

The year 1905 witnessed a period of hectic activities of the Arya Samaj which alarmed the British authorities. The gradual increase of interest of the Arya Samaj in the Indian National Congress, the involvement and the growing students' interest in political affairs, and the swadeshi and boycott movement alerted the official mind. It cannot be denied that the swadeshi and boycott movement in Bengal gave a great impetus to the swadeshi movement all over India including Punjab. It spread in twenty out of twenty seven districts of the Punjab.⁵¹ The initiative in Punjab had been taken by the Arya Samaj. The first swadeshi shop was opened in Lahore by the Arya Samaj. In fact, in Lahore, the DAV College was the hub of swadeshi activities. The prominent leaders of the movement were mainly the Arya Samajis.⁵² The young students' participation certainly gave a great impetus to national awakening in Punjab.⁵³ Inclusion of Lajpat Rai who was then an active member of the Managing Committee of the DAV College, Lahore, in the Congress deputation to England in 1905 to carry on political agitation also cautioned the authorities.

Lord Curzon's effort to get the control of all universities into government's hands annoyed the Arya Samajis; they took it as a hindrance to the growth of the DAV movement.

Consequently, the local authorities made false cases against the Arya Samajis. A number of Arya Samajis were tried under section 292 of the Indian Penal Code.⁵⁴ The government made certain amendments in 'government service conduct rules' and the government servants were debarred from taking part in or subscribing in aid of any political movement in India or relating to Indian affairs.⁵⁵ The government servants were prohibited to attend any political meeting.

The year 1906 also witnessed a number of issues which further agitated the minds of the urban educated youngmen. The prosecution of the *Panjabee*⁵⁵ under section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code for writing two editorial paragraphs headed 'How misunderstanding occurs' and 'A deliberate murder' was the product of official hostile attitude. In fact, Sir Charles Rivaz, the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, was cautious regarding the alarming anti-British tone of the paper since its inception in 1904. Other issues like the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900, amending the 1893 Colonization of Land Act, and raising the occupiers rate on the Bari Doab canal had sown the seeds of discontent.

Emergence of Sardar Ajit Singh gave a new impetus to the whole awakening. Ajit Singh was a revolutionary with an Arya Samaj background who wanted to overthrow the British government. Consequently, the fiery speeches of Lajpat Ra and Ajit Singh roused passions and national awakening among the masses particularly the agriculturists.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson, the new Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, studied the serious political situation and prepared a minute⁵⁶ dated April 30, 1907 and sent it to Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India. The former regarded the political situation in Punjab as 'exceedingly serious' and 'exceedingly dangerous' which 'urgently demanded a remedy'. He wrote, 'Nai Hawa' was blowing through men's minds⁵⁷ and in Lahore and other towns there was more or less a general state of serious unrest.⁵⁸

Now the pertinent question may be asked, who were the creators of this 'Nai Hawa' in the Punjab. To Sir Denzil Ibbetson's government, it was the Arya Samaj which was 'the greatest enemy of the government and the most dangerous anti-British movement'.⁵⁹ According to him the main aim of the Arya Samaj was to bring the government machinery to a standstill by endeavouring to stir up a feeling of hatred for the rulers.⁶⁰ To the official mind, the Arya Samaj was mainly responsible for sedition. Sir Louis Dane⁶¹ (1908-1913) and Sir Michael O'Dwyer⁶² (1913-1919), the Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab, had similar views. The latter believed that the "beginning of serious seditious agitation in the Punjab took place under two notorious agitators—Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh."⁶³

Consequently on May 8, 1907, a telegram was communicated by Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India, to Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, which was based on Ibbetson's Minute. It was stated in the telegram :

"This propaganda (of openly and continuously preaching sedition) is organised and directed by a secret committee of the Arya Samaj. Originally religious, it has in the Punjab, a strong political tendency."⁶⁴

And the government regarded Lala Lajpat Rai as the head and centre of the entire movement and Ajit Singh as his principal agent.⁶⁵

Sir Denzil Ibbetson suggested some drastic measures and demanded the power of deportation under drastic Regulation III of 1818. Consequently Lord Minto gave order in May 1907 for the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh.⁶⁶ The Punjab adopted a repressive policy to crush the Arya Samaj movement. Some members of the Arya Samaj were dismissed from the government service, and a fairly large number were shadowed by the CID men.⁶⁷ The members of the Arya Samaj were branded as "wicked, unscrupulous persons". Their literature was confiscated and their flag torn up.⁶⁸ They were suspected when they wanted to enlist themselves in the Indian Army.⁶⁹ In Panipat, on the Diaries of the Zamindars it was mentioned "Zaildar" (an honorary officer in the village) is good but he is Arya Samaji. So an eye should be kept on him."⁷⁰ The Deputy Commissioner, Karnal, instigated people to make false cases against the persons who were Arya Samajis.⁷¹

The *Seditious Meetings Act* of 1907 severely restricted the right of public meetings. Later, to curb the activities of the Arya Samaj, Rohtak and Hissar districts were proclaimed under the *Seditious Meetings Act*, 1907.⁷² Other acts, like *Explosive Substances Act* of 1908, the *Criminal Law (Amendment) Act* and the *Indian Press Act* of 1910 were used to curtail the liberty of the individuals.

The repressive measures of Lord Minto could not crush the Arya Samaj movement, yet it checked its speed for a while, and changed its direction. Immediately after the deportation of Lajpat Rai on May 9, 1907, an application was made by Lala Hansraj to Sir Denzil Ibbetson, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, asking for an interview which took place on May 22, 1907. Lala Hansraj assured him that the Arya Samajists as a body had nothing to do with the "disturbances". He also explained that the sole object of the Samaj was the religious and educational advancement of its members. On May 23, 1907, the Executive Committee of the Arya Pradeshik Pratinidhi Sabha passed the following resolution :—

Resolved that the Arya Samaj has always been and is, a non-political body, and this fact the Arya Samaj has publicly declared in speeches and expressed in writings, but as some mischievous people have now here and there spread rumours to the contrary, this meeting of the Executive Committee of the Arya Pradeshik Pratinidhi Sabha takes this opportunity to reiterate its old creed and declares that it has no connection of any kind with political body or with any political agitation in any shape.⁷³

Since his release in November, 1907, Lala Lajpat Rai found himself in a difficult situation, and he, in the course of his first public speech, expressed his readi-

ness to sever all connection with the Samaj if it were shown that it had suffered owing to his political views.⁷⁴

Similarly in a letter published in *The Tribune*, on January 24, 1908, it was suggested by the Arya Samaj leaders like Rai Mulraj and Bhai Amir Chand that no office bearers of the college should take a prominent part in political matters.⁷⁵

On February 10, 1908, the CID reported the split in the Arya Samaj-Anarkali section (the meat eaters) on the question of political work. However, the majority of the members desired the Samaj to undertake political work.⁷⁶ Even in the book entitled, *The Arya Samaj and its Detractors : A Vindication*, the author's object was to clear the Samaj of the suspicion that Arya Samajists were maintaining a secret society under the guise of a religious brotherhood.⁷⁷ Lala Durga Prasad, the president of the Gurukul section of the Arya Samaj, proposed that all Arya Samajists and those who would join the Samaj in future should sign a declaration to the effect that they would neither attend political meetings nor would take part in political agitation. However, the proposal was not accepted and Lala Durga Prasad resigned from the Presidentship of the Samaj.⁷⁹ The Arya Samaj anniversary celebrations were held on November 26 and 27, 1910 by the College Party in the compound of DAV College and by the Gurukul Party in a pandal erected for the occasion. But nowhere discussions took place concerning politics. Even the sale of political literature and pictures was not permitted in any of the stalls erected at both places.⁸⁰ On the whole it was admitted by the British officials that since 1907 the Arya Samaj had taken up a much less objectionable attitude towards political questions.⁸¹

It is worthwhile to mention here that a note was prepared by the Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, in 1909 which clearly shows the changing attitude of the local officials. It is as follows :

The traditional view of the Arya Samaj should be modified. The Samaj, I know, contains many men of forward views politically, and this is inevitable. But to brand all Aryas as extremists is absurd. There are hundreds of such men who are genuine social reformers, just as there are hundreds who have joined the body in order to obtain freedom from caste and other trammels in their private lives. All said and done, the Arya Samaj is the direct product of British teaching. For years we have preached against caste and child marriage and have taught patriotism and self-help. It is unreasonable to complain when the fruits of our teaching appear. There is a national feeling now in India, ideals of patriotism are in the air and the youngmen are being

stirred. It is idle not to recognize and encourage this; and brand all who are answering to the call as disloyal and seditious. And this we almost must do if we are hostile to the Arya Samaj. It is the only organisation which expresses the new ideas, half social and half political as they are.⁸²

Since the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, the Arya Samajists, as earlier, began to give more emphasis on religious and educational activities. They paid more attention to the re-conversion programmes. During the end of 1907, they made efforts to re-convert the neo-Muslim Rajputs. In January 1908, a *Shuddhi Sabha* (Mission) was started with Pandit Rambhuj Datta as its Secretary, and subscriptions were collected.⁸³

Now the Arya Samaj started a more aggressive movement in the direction of proselytising. They attempted to make converts of Christians, neo-Muslims, *Mazabhi* Sikhs and low-caste Hindus.⁸⁴ For example, on September 4, 1910 in Hissar a batch of 20 *kumhars* (potters) were converted to the Aryan faith.⁸⁵ It was rumoured in Gurdaspur that in August, 1912, 1360 *Domes* had been converted to the Aryan faith.⁸⁶

In these years the topics of various lectures were generally conversion of Muslims and others to the Aryan faith, opposition of the child marriage, propagation of national education. In the field of education more emphasis was laid on female education. In Hissar a scheme was sanctioned by the women's branch of the Arya Samaj for the employment of women preachers to spread Arya Samaj doctrines among the rural Jat women.⁸⁷ The *Pratinidhi Sabha* of the Arya Samaj also decided that education at the Gurukul Kangri was to be free from April 1911.⁸⁸

It can be concluded that the Arya Samaj was both a social and national movement.⁸⁹ While the social and educational activities of the Arya Samaj contributed to the gradual growth of a new social consciousness from urban to rural elite, its national activities strengthened the feelings of self-reliance, faith and patriotism among the youth. It had a big impact on the Indian mind and thus prepared the ground for nationalism. The British government from the very beginning looked at its activities with distrust and suspicion and consequently caution, particularly when the Arya Samaj provided a sizable membership and leadership to the Congress party in 1900. This can be regarded the entry point of the Arya Samaj into politics. The swadeshi and boycott movement in Punjab further gave an impetus to its growth. The Punjab government, under Sir Charles Rivaz and Sir Denzil Ibbetson, were cautious regarding militant and anti-British tone of the Arya Samaj.

leaders and the educated youth. However, Sir Denzil Ibbetson took the extreme, exaggerated and over-estimated view of the whole situation and tried to suppress the movement violently. The years from 1905 to 1910 remained a period of ruthless suppression of the Arya Samaj movement in the Punjab. However some notable changes could be seen after the arrest of Lala Lajpat Rai. The Arya Samaj again focussed its attention on religious, social and educational activities. The Punjab government also adopted a lenient but cautious attitude towards the activities of the Samaj.

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Arya Samaj Movement in British Punjab: Its Growth and Social Composition

Anand Gauba

Punjabi Hindus welcomed Arya Samaj movement with open arms in 1877.¹ Very soon this movement became most popular Hindu reform movement.² In 1921 out of total 4,68,000 *Vedic Dharmis* in India, the Punjab alone had 2,23,000. Punjabi Hindu though in minority was educated and enjoyed high social and economic status. He was conscious of his splendid cultural heritage. The establishment of British Raj in the Punjab provided opportunity to the urban elite to have direct inter-action with the western culture and modernity. Fast conversion programme of the Christian missionaries had upset him to a great deal. Having all this as background, Punjabi Hindu was seriously contemplating on the point that "for survival one must have numbers" and make his religion more acceptable and liberal and for that purge was required. Contacts with the western culture and the ideology of Brahmo Samaj had made them receptive to new ideas.

Growth of the Arya Samaj movement can be distinctly divided in two phases : (1) upto the close of the 19th century, most of the time and energy was utilised for establishment and consolidation and (2) and during the next phase i.e. with the rise of the 20th century, fast numerical growth is observed. In 1891 there were 14030³ Arya Samajis and by 1931 their number swelled to 469864.⁴ Upto the close of the nineteenth century the number of Arya Samajs almost remained the same as was recorded in 1878. Swami Dayanand during his stay in the Punjab tried to found at least one Arya Samaj at most of the district headquarters. Eleven such Samajs were recorded i.e. Ferozepur, Jullundur, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Gujranwala, Wazirabad,⁵ Gujrat, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Multan. The number did not increase as lot of effort was required for establishing firmly and consolidating the already working centres. Because of the resistance from the orthodox section of the Hindus, Arya Samaj remained engrossed in refuting their charges. The orthodox under the leadership of Pt. Bhanu Datt, the Acharya of the Lahore 'Sat Sabha' and Shardha Ram of Phillor founded 'Santan Dharam Rakshni Sabha' to counteract the influence of Arya Samaj on the Hindu society. In their effort to establish and prove its beliefs Arya Samaj refuted other ideologies which resulted in open struggle not only with orthodox but with the reform movements of other religions.⁶ However, with the wake of the 20th century Arya Samajis realised that by *Khandan* (refuting others ideology) and *mandan* (to prove ones case) alone cannot help in the spread of Arya Samaj movement. Increase in the number was equally important. So, for the said purpose 'Shastrath' (convincing by discussion), Updesak missions,⁷ D.A.V.

institutions, literature⁸ and *Shuddhi*—the vehicles of propaganda used since 1880s were re-activated.

A special reference to *Shuddhi* would not be out of place here to emphasise the fact that it acted as an extremely important vehicle to increase the numerical strength of Arya Samajis or *Vedic Dharmis*. As denoted in the census reports *Shuddhi*, a traditional method of *Prasyaschit*, was adopted by Arya Samaj for innovation which would transform Hindu religion into a conversion religion at equal footing to its competitors, Christians, Muslims and Sikhs. *Shuddhi* was first started by Swami Dayanand himself to win back those lost to conversion religions and the experiment was done first in Amritsar. In 1880s, Arya Samajis seriously started thinking on the lines not only of reconversion but for conversion also unknown to Hindu religion earlier. Not only that, even those who were excommunicated for certain lapses or women who had slipped from the norms of chastity but wanted to come back to the fold of the religion, were made Aryas by the *Shuddhi* process.⁹ In 1890s Sikhs also started using this weapon for bringing back converted Sikhs back to the fold of their religion. They also joined hands with Arya Samajis at various times and places to reconvert converted Christians and Muslims. This continued upto the early years of the 20th century.¹⁰ But did Hindu society accept the converted or reconverts? There is no doubt that a lot of effort was made through speeches and published literature to remove the inhibition from the minds of the people to accept socially this lot.¹¹ The census reports of 1921 and 1931 show the sharp numerical increase of *Vedic Dharmis*. The Census Superintendents for both the census were fully convinced that the increase in the number was "largely due to the process of proselytisation known as *Shuddhi*."¹²

The spread of Arya Samaj movement was concentrated in urban centres only along the line from east to west: Ferozepur and Jullundur in the east to Rawalpindi in the west. Multan in the south was an exception. Since the Multani trader had frequent intercourse and trade contacts with Lahore and Amritsar it is not surprising therefore that this movement was directed to the south also.¹³ However, it is interesting to note that to start with Arya Samaj centres were opened in Christian Missionary activity centres only.¹⁴ The missionaries were not successful in the extreme western borders of the Punjab, and during their early attempts Arya Samaj also did not think advisable to open its centres there partly because there was no Christian influence and partly Hindus over there were in extreme minority. Arya Samaj movement could not enter the princely states and hilly areas where there was 94% Hindu population.¹⁵ Perhaps the orthodox social set up of those states was closely protected by the princes. However, Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Chamba and Bahawalpur did feel the impact of this movement.¹⁶ Hoshiarpur was also an exception.

Arya Samaj movement grew fast overtaking all other Hindu reform movements. Out of the total 4,78,456 subscribing to new reformed sects in 1931, 4,69,064 were Arya Samajis who showed 122.8% rise as compared to 1921 while all others showed minus rise except Radha Swamis who showed their prosperous future and had 98.7% rise from 1921 to 1931.

So far as social composition is concerned, Arya Samajis can be divided distinctly in two categories. They were either anglicised elite and urban population of the converts from the depressed classes which fast increased with the wake of the 20th century. The stewards of the movement however, belonged to the first category, mostly Khattris. Arya Samajis mostly were an educated group. Out of total 82,488 *Vedic Dharmis* in 1911, 68,822 were enumerated as literates of which 33% were English knowing, mostly Khattris, Brahmans and Aroras in descending order. It is interesting to note that Arya Jats and Rajputs too were entered in good number as literates. A large number of Khattris have been shown as *Vedic Dharmis* who were mostly the residents of Central Punjab, Lahore, Amritsar, Sialkot and Gujranwala. Arora *Vedic Dharmis* dominated in Multan and Lyallpur, Brahmans in Gurdaspur and Jats in Hissar, Rohtak and Karnal.¹⁷

The sharp increase in the numerical strength of converts and re-converts to Arya Samaj is a fascinating feature of this movement. Converts were mostly from the low castes like Chuhra, Chamars and those without religion. The theory of the submergence of castes in Arya community appealed. Since they had hunger for social status, they were promised equality and were given the name 'Arya' as they are thought to be originally belonging to *Arya Varatta* where Aryas lived. The census reports have provided separate space in the reports to show the number of 'Aryas' by caste. In 1921 out of total 4,68,000 *Vedic Dharmis* the Punjab alone had 2,23,000, the highest in India. There was a rise of 65% in 1921 as compared to the number in 1911,¹⁸ out of which 50,884 were Aryas by caste against only 213 in 1911.¹⁹ i.e. 235% increase. The census report has admitted that this rise was due to the efforts of *Shuddhi Sabhas* and 'Arya Pratinidhi Sabha'. It is interesting to note that in Rohtak alone there were 27,089 *Vedic Dharmis* in 1921 out of which 23,975 were Jats entered as Aryas who got themselves converted.²⁰ Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Rohtak, Karnal, Delhi and Lahore made a long headway in conversion upto 1921. Jammu though not a part of the Punjab had close links with the Punjab. A very sharp increase in the number of Aryas by caste drew the attention of the Census Superintendent who observed that 9,000 persons from the depressed classes of *Dooms* and *Basiths* were converted as 'Aryas' by 1921.²¹

Conclusion

The chief current of Arya Samaj movement emerging from central Punjab with Lahore as the nucleus spread in almost all urban centres. However, western Punjab, hilly areas and princely states remained less affected. It essentially remained in the hands of anglicised Hindu elite particularly Khattris, Brahmans and Aroras in descending order. With the wake of the 20th century its numerical strength showed sharp rise. It increased about eight times in 1931 as compared to that of 1891 because the converts and depressed classes desirous of higher social status were admitted to its order by *Shuddhi* process declaring the converts as 'Arya' by caste.

By the third decade of the 20th century other Hindu reform movements went out of scene leaving it to grow without any hurdle.

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2. Out of total 47846 Hindus of the new sects of the Punjab in 1931, 469664 were Arya Samajis. Brahmos and Dev Dharmis were wanning off. Only Radha Swami Movement showed prosperous future with +98.790 variation as compared to 1921.
3. *Census of India 1891*, General Tables for British Provinces and Feudatory States, Vol. II, Statistics, London 1893, 171-72.
4. *Census of India 1931*, Punjab, Vol XVII, Part I, Report, 301.
5. In Gujranwala district there were two Arya Samajas i.e. Gujranwala and Wazirabad.
6. Since 1885 sharp differences started cropping up between Arya Samaj and Sikhs. Sikhs once under the leadership of Bhai Jawahar Singh and Ditt Singh had joined hands with the Samaj to bring social reforms. A trend 'Ham Hindu Nahin' started since late 1890s by Bhai Kahan Singh and his associates was also catching momentum. Khalsa College Amritsar was established to counteract the Arya Samaj and D.A.V. influences.
7. In 1882 Arya Updeshak Mandli was formed after providing proper training for bringing people to the fold of Arya Samaj by convincing them with reason and fair arguments: *Regenerator of Arya Varta*, Vol I, No. 7, August 20, 1883, 3.
8. Arya Tract Society issued number of tracts and periodicals: *Arya Magazine*, *Desh Upkark*, *The Reformer*, *Arya Patrika*, *Arya Gazette* and alike were published from time to time.
9. *Arya Patrika*, August 22, 1885 and October 31, 1885 have shown Amritsar as the biggest 'Shuddhi Centre' where 40 to 50 persons were re-converted. Gujranwala, Lahore and Rawalpindi also made their consistent efforts while other Samajis made efforts just nominally.
10. Anand Gauba, *Amritsar (1849-1947): A Study in Urban History*, an unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, 329-30.
11. *Loc. cit.*
12. *Census of India*, Vol XV, Punjab and Delhi, Part I, Report Lahore 1925, 81; see also *Ibid*, Vol. I, Calcutta 1924, 119. para 196.
13. Amritsar-Lahore-Multan Railway Line was opened in 1859.
14. Christian activity centres in the end of the 19th century were : Firozpur, Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Jehlum, Hoshiarpur, Kangra. American Presybitarian and Church of England Mission had started mass conversions. They issued large number of tracts in English, Hindi and Punjabi, started colonies providing proper facilities for good living to the poor depressed classes (A colony in Chunnis of Lahore district is one such example): by opening educational institutions and prompting the Zenana Mission to attract ladies at home in the absence of their husbands. The result was that villages as a whole were converted. The Christian missionaries had their great success with 'Chuhras'. In 1864 there were only 16 convert Christians in the Punjab. Their number rose to 19,750 in 1891 against 3912 in 1881 that is 410% increase. In 1911, it rose to 1,63,994.
15. *Government of India Census of India 1891*, Vol. XIX, The Punjab and its Feudatories, Part I, The Report by F.D. Maclagan, Calcutta 1892, 88. Hilly areas survived their culture. Neither Muslims nor the British disturbed them.
16. *Census of India 1931*, Vol XVII, Part III, Table XVI-A.
17. *Census of India 1911*, Vol. XIV, Part III, Lahore 1912: see also *Census of India 1931*, Vol. XVII, Part III Table XVI-A.
18. *Census of India 1921*, Vol XV, Part I, Report of J.T. Marton, Calcutta 1924, 119.
19. *Ibid*, Vol XV Punjab and Delhi, Part I, Report, Lahore, 1923, 81, para 96.
20. *Loc. cit.*
21. *Loc. cit.*

Indigenous Views of Swami Dayanand

Dhanpati Pandey

Of all the leaders of the Indian renaissance Swami Dayanand was perhaps the most important reformer and militant nationalist who had his own indigenous views for the reform movement in the country. From 1836 to 1883 Dayanand visited many towns of the country and found that the Indians were backward on account of their own follies and economic exploitation by alien rulers. He wondered that Indians did not have 'the feel' of this painful condition of their affairs far less did they know ways and means to improve it, unless the British came to their rescue. People, mostly the English educated persons, were of notion that without British or Western contribution India would not be modernised. "The pioneer workers", says K.K. Dutta, "in revealing India's past were a batch of European scholars and officers, and there was also behind it a combination of literary impulse and motives of administrative convenience."¹ Some scholars opine that pre-British Indian society was totally static and no reformation or reawakening of it was possible at all without the help of the west.

Westernized leaders and a few reformers launched a frontal attack on the webs of superstition, falsehood and bigotry so sedulously built by a supine ecclesiastical order, but in their personal lives they could not practise what they preached. Even Raja Rammohan Roy was no exception to this. He would not partake food cooked by a non-Brahman, observed caste regulations and put the seal of legitimacy on the Shaiva marriage according to tantric rites.² So was the case with P.K. Tagore, K.C. Sen etc. The former publicly denounced idolatry in his journal, *The Reformer*, but himself performed Durga Puja at his residence with usual pomp and show. Sen who was a critic of the backward social customs of the Hindu society married his own daughter not yet 14 to a boy of less than 16.³ In the political sphere, their performance was even worse. The domination of India by a foreign power did not sadden their hearts. On the contrary, they hailed it as 'an act of providence to deliver India from the tyranny of its Muslim rulers.'⁴ Accepting the British Raj as a national necessity, one of the most enlightened of the Westernized leaders of reform said : "Conquest is very rarely an evil when the conquering people are more civilized than the conquered, because the former brings to the latter the benefits of civilization."⁵ Raja Rammohan Roy's abstract love of liberty, his crusade for press, his campaign for jury assessment etc. point to the dual nature of the class that he belonged to. Make it a permanent thing, said the other, for "this (Raj) is an instrument in the hands of Providence to elevate this degraded country in the scale of nations."⁶ It is

surprising that even the sickening scene of economic exploitation of the Indians by the British did not moisten the eyes of westernized leaders of the Renaissance. For instance, Rammohan Roy cared little for the agricultural peasantry of India. He did not feel concerned for the landless tillers, wage earners and slaves, and did not bother to think that the causes like free trade, settlement of Europeans, and commercialization of agriculture would ultimately result in unemployment and misery to the millions in rural India.⁷ He did not care for indigo cultivators who were being ruined by the indigo planters in his own province of Bengal. On the contrary he gave a first class certificate to these exploiters: "On the whole they (planters) have performed more good to the generality of the natives of this country than another class of Europeans whether in or out of the services."⁸

In fact, these leaders belonged to the new middle class whose material interests were served and multiplied by their contact with the British and, therefore, they could not attack the political and economic problems of their countrymen effectively. On the other hand, dichotomies in their personal lives and public behaviour made them poor social reformers.⁹

Swami Dayanand was, however, different from the Westernized leaders in both his make and type. He had his own indigenous techniques of organisation which were quite effective and useful for Aryavart. He attacked the problems of his countrymen in his own typical manner. He was the first reformer who accepted no western influences and methods. He was the first dynamic personality to give an indigenous orientation to Indian nationalism. His Arya Samaj set into motion strong religious, social and even political movements embodying a close and intimate reference to the past glory and cultural heritage of India and reacted against Western influences. Dayanand's patriotism was rooted in his love for Aryavart, and the Aryan culture and ideal. Not his the patriotism of those who have India on their lips but Europe in their dress and diet, their thought and thinking, their life and living. In brief, Dayanand aimed at the creation of an Indian Nation not by the influence of the Western civilization, education and religion but by establishing an Indian organisation, religion and culture common in all over India.¹⁰ The Brahmo Samaj had failed to satisfy the Indians due to its occidental outlook and began to lose its popularity by 1875. India at that time needed a movement that would prove her equal of, if not superior to Europe in the domain of culture.¹¹ There arose a conflict between the new generation of English-educated Indians and the British officialdom and out of this conflict rose a new national outlook and consciousness which gradually began to refuse the superiority of western culture. This new nationalism found at first expression in Bengali literature. Bankim Chandra was the prophet of this nationalism under whose leadership the English-educated provoked an intellectual war and as a result the western influence began to slacken and reaction set in the shape of a strong social and religious revival.¹² The love for Europe was being replaced by love for India.¹³ Naturally,

this revivalist spirit created hatred between Englishmen and Anglicised Indians. Swami Dayanand, thus, appeared at the political, social and religious stage of India at time when the craze for the ways of the West was at its highest, racial arrogance of the ruling classes was blowing hot, and the new generation of English-educated revivalist under Bankim Chandra was emerging in which revivalist cult echoed in the writings of Bankim Chandra found a bold champion. Swamiji stood for India for Indians and started a revival current of thought which may be called 'Indian Nationalism'. National reconstruction on national lines was the fundamental cry of the Rishi and of his organisation.¹⁴

From religious, cultural and political points of view, Dayanand gave an indigenous orientation to Indian nationalism. His aim was to rally India against the encroaching inroads of Christianity and Islam and to obtain defence for her own traditional line of thought as divinely inspired by the Vedas. He maintained a deep seated conviction that "Aryan is the chosen people, Vedas the chosen gospel, and India the chosen land."¹⁵ Accordingly he was not ready to tolerate any attack of the missionaries. During his time Dayanand was confronted by a variety of faiths which were destroying the national glory. The Christianity, Islam and even the Hinduism presented before him a great problem. Dayanand tried to solve this religious problem. He became finally emancipated from the authority of the Brahmanism in some such way as Martin Luther became emancipated from the authority of the Church at Rome. The watch-word of Luther was 'Back to the Bible'; the watch-word of Dayanand was 'Back to the Vedas'.¹⁶ With this religious watch-word, another watch-word was implicitly, if not explicitly, combined namely 'India for Indians'.¹⁷ Dayanand, thus, desired that religion as well as sovereignty of India ought to belong to Indians. In order to accomplish the first, Indian religion was to be reformed and purified by a return to the Vedas, and foreign religions were to be extirpated. With regard to the second end, the founder of the Arya Samaj taught that a return to the pure teachings of the Vedas would gradually fit the people of India for self-rule and that independence would ultimately come to them.¹⁸ He was a "dreamer of splendid dream", says Mr. Griswold, "and he had a vision of India purged of her superstitions, filled with the fruits of science, worshipping one God, fitted for self-rule, having a place in the sisterhood of nations and restored to her ancient glory. All this was to be accomplished by throwing over-board the accumulated superstitions of the centuries and returning to the pure and inspired teachings of the Vedas."¹⁹

As regard the extirpation of the foreign faiths, Dayanand wrote in his famous contribution *Satyarth Parkash* sections on Christianity and Islam and criticised their few aspects which were anti-religion and anti-nation. He aroused a sense of nationalism and fraternity among the Indians through the *Shuddhi* movement and taught the gospel of theism in which the foreign faiths found their greatest foes.²⁰ Dayanand fearlessly expressed that the Hindu religion was a confident assertion of supreme

manhood, an assertion full of dignity and independence. It would tower high above other faiths, in as much as its teachings elevating and emerging as no other great faith.²¹ In his cry 'Back to the Vedas', one can find, he believed to be the original Hindu conception of God and the Universe.²² Such indigenous religion sponsored by the Swami completely left the tradition and became a means to the achievements of national ends, and by responding inwardly to those dynamic forces that were making the nation. Thus the Arya Samaj organisation was to establish the Hindu supremacy thereby inculcating in the youth of the land the spirit of patriotism and nationalism. Mr. Valentine Chirol observes: "The Arya Samaj.... represents in one of its aspects a revolt against Hindu orthodoxy, but in another it represents equally revolt against Western ideals, for in the teachings of its Founder, it has found an aggressive Gospel which bases the claims of Aryan, i.e. Hindu supremacy on the Vedas, as the one ultimate source of human and divine wisdom."²³ To strengthen the Hindu religion the Samaj accepted and purified the individual and received him into the Arya brother-hood, be he Mohamman or Christian. In this respect the Samaj was modern, Indian and cosmopolitan. The Christianity and Islamic universalism is based upon the universality and infallibility of the Christian and Islamic scriptures, viz. the Bible and the Koran. It was upon this infallibility of the Vedas that Dayanand wanted to build up the Hindu society and nation. He, therefore, took the Vedas to weaken the Western influences. And this indigenous orientation became a great force in arousing the spirit of nationalism in India. Though the foreign religions opposed the Samaj, yet "Dayanand jerked off the Cobra twisting round his leg, and with a single movement (*Shuddhi*) crushed the reptile's head."²⁴

In cultural field also Dayanand did not accept the Western influence. He opined that the Indians were rich in culture. They were the original teachers of mankind who civilised the world, and their own country Aryavart was the sacred land of civilised humanity. From Aryavart had travelled far and wide waves of culture, religion and civilization. The Aryas carried *dharma*, *satya* and enlightenment to the remotest corner of the world, all over Asia, Europe, Africa and America. But with the lapse of time decline set in amongst them. Indians lost the knowledge of the Vedas and culture. The knowledge of Sanskrit declined, true *Dharma* became rare. And the term 'Arya', once a term denoted nobility, culture and greatness, gave place to the 'Hindu' which with the passage of time became synonymous with 'the weak and the feeble.'²⁵ The people who taught philosophy and science to the Greeks and the Egyptians and religion to the whole world fell a victim to foreign invaders inferior to them in civilization, culture and refinement.

Dayanand believed that, "Indian civilization in all its branches—religion, education, art, industry, home life and Government—is healthy, spiritual, beautiful and good. It has become corrupted in the course of centuries due to alien rule. The Indian

patriots must toil to restore Indian life and civilization."²⁶ On the other hand he also believed that "Western civilization in all its parts—religion, education, art, business and government—is gross, materialistic and therefore degrading in India. The patriotic Indians must recognise the grave danger lurking in every element of western influence, must hate it, and must be on his guard against it."²⁷

Maharshi also provoked something of a revolt against foreign educational system and education in the wake of which followed the national consciousness. The ancient Indians had attained scientific knowledge and were rich in the domain of this knowledge. They had done pioneering work in mathematics, chemistry and medicine centuries before most of modern people of the world ever awoke to civilized life. The Arya Samaj under the leadership of Dayanand idealised India's past knowledge even to the fantastic extent of claiming that all knowledge—scientific, social and spiritual—was achieved by Aryans and lay deposited in the Vedas. Dayanand was of opinion that at least in matter of religion and in the domain of philosophy the best European thought did not come up to the level of the best ancient Hindu thought. He even believed that the people of Egypt, Greece and continent of Europe were without a trace of learning before the spread of knowledge from India.²⁸ He, therefore, warned Indians that inhabiting the land of the Vedas they had no right to sink into mere imitators of European modes of thoughts. The Rishi tried to found the educational reform revival on Indian lives. He went against the principle of imparting education through a foreign medium. He held that "English learning may be good, their philosophy may be good but each one of these helps to rivet the fetters of our servitude."²⁹ He, therefore, accepted that "Education must have its roots deep down in national sentiment and tradition. We are the heirs of an ancient civilization. In our curriculum, Hindu ethics and metaphysics will occupy a foremost place."³⁰ He was of opinion that education should be the best means to ensure the advancement of people and to preserve their existence."³¹ Some were of opinion that Western education had rescued their fellow countrymen from the abyss of ignorance and that it would breed among the people virtues which would help the country to obtain self government one day. They held that the English language was essential for the development of the country's trade and for promoting union in the ranks of the people, and that its disappearance from the land would place a great obstacle in the way of progress of the nation. They were, therefore, under the impression that it was impossible for natives to get another liberal and sympathetic government like the British Government so far as the education was concerned.³² Raja Rammohan Roy was the supporter of this view but Dayanand stood against it and held that the prevailing system of English education was a deadly poison. The "dissemination of such views, according to him, was highly injurious to the interest of the country. It had been dragging the people down and not raising them up. So far from making them fit for self-government it had been stripping them of

those habits and virtues which enable a nation to rule itself. It had been killing the soul of the people, making them irreligious, creating disunion in their ranks, stripping them of their sense of self-respect and locking their love for their national history. Furthermore natives trained under the English educational system lacked a sense of national honour, as also patriotism and strength of will. They were taught such books which taught them of flattery and made them disloyal to their own nation. At the same time this system also constituted a danger for the Hindu religion and was calculated to promote the cause of the Christianity in India."³³ It was also a mistake to suppose that the English language would help Indians in the unification of India. Materials for the national unity, according to Dayanand, should be found within the country and should not be borrowed from outside and such materials were available in the Vedas. "The progress of moral feelings and national spirit", Dayanand holds, "depends upon the study of the Vedas and the national history of ancient India. Hence an Indian should study Vedas in Sanskrit and not Bible in English."³⁴ Thus from the Dayanand's College a new orientation of education—the national education—emerged which laid down that "education must be so imparted that the pupils may become the best possible members of their community."

From political point of view also Dayanand was an Indian. He did not seek any help from the West for bringing reform in Indian society. He believed in his Indian method and thought that it was useless to give petitions, hold meetings and request Government to make reform. He wanted to bring reform on the principle of the Vedas. With a clear vision of truth and courage of determinism he preached and worked for our self-respect and vigorous awakening of mind that could strive for a harmonious adjustment with the progressive spirit of the modern age and at the same time keep in perfect touch with that glorious past of India when it revealed the personality in freedom of thought and action, in an unclouded radiance of spiritual realization.³⁵ He did not directly concern with politics. Like an expert and a far-sighted gardener, he busied himself in looking after the Indian soil and its sowing.³⁶ His patriotism did not consist in criticising Government measures and glibly discussing politics. He thought that it was fruitless and useless to quarrel with a grown up tree or its products. He obtained from dealing with the top, but like a sage and seer as he was, he occupied himself with working at the root. He realised that all political troubles were due to want of character amongst his countrymen.³⁷ He rightly observed, "If Indians become physically strong, religiously pure and socially simple, their political emancipation will follow."³⁸ In his opinion strong, honest and truthful men with high character could not remain political slaves for a long time. With this conviction, Dayanand applied himself heart and soul to his religious and social work and tried to raise the moral of Indians. He loved Indians with the fervour of a Mazzini and Wallace.

Dayanand's indigenous view gave a new shape and creed to Indian nationalism. The apostles of this new creed were Lokmanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai. Tilak-school emerged from Dayanand College which began to change the political out-look of the English-educated Indians and played an important role in the Indian national movement. This new leadership of Tilak-school desired a radical change, a revolution in the system of Government which was expressed by the term, 'Swaraj' or self-Government or Home Rule which it now demanded, and which became the goal of Indian national progress. This new school demanded social equality and political emancipation as its birth-right. The leaders of this school drew sustenance from India's heritage and appealed to Indians by invoking religious patriotism.³⁹ They bolstered up India's past and advocated militant struggle, not debate. Thus Dayanand with his indigenous ideals made considerable contribution to Indian nationalism, made it fuller in its content, wider in its scope, indigenous in its approach, militant in its tone and noble in its ideals.

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Swami Dayanand Saraswati : The Rebel

Shrawan Kumar Sharma

&

Karuna Sharma

Swami Dayanand, modern to the core of his heart, preferred the ancient system of education where the preceptor imparted education to his pupil in the natural environment of the forest, the *Tapoban*. This he emitted in the Samullas 3, of the *Satyarth Prakash*.¹ He did not mind going back to the ancient sages. He welcomed the natural surrounding and intimate contact between the teacher and the taught. He was convinced that students' direct contact with nature and the preceptor was—as followed in the ancient *Ashrams* in the *Tapobans*—a desirable factor in preparing the students for life. In this course of educational development many *Gurukulas* were established and the one of them, under the supervision of Arya Samaj, has grown up to the status of a world known educational centre—Gurukula Kangri Vishwavidyalya, Haridwar.

But he was not prepared to accept anything and everything blindly that the ancient system offered to him. Caste system was one such institution whose root was struck by his strong axe. In ancient India the caste system was introduced perhaps on a scientific basis. With a view to having a proper division of labour, the law maker, divided the members of the society into four distinct classes—the priests, the merchants, the warriors and shudras. The priests were of the highest order. They were the law-makers. The warriors were to defend the country. The merchants carried on trade. It was the fourth category that was exploited by all the three for centuries. Unfortunately, due to long servitude, they lost the spirit of revolt. It was this class that got the greatest sympathy from Swami Dayanand Saraswati.

Swami struck at the root of caste system prevailing in the country. In this revolt, he was perhaps the most impressive of all men who had the courage to denounce the most basic of India's institutions—the caste system.

The rebel gave a clarion call to the Brahmins, the law makers and asked them to give these ignorant and for ages exploited people their due place in society. They must give up their notions of "purity" and "superiority". If they did not heed the call of times, their future, he warned, was doomed to destruction.² He wanted justice for them in the society. They had a right to have knowledge. Swami Dayanand

rejected any compromise with untruth and unjust work. To him the man who bows down to injustice and tolerates it calmly is equally guilty as the person who commits it. In this way the Arya Samaj of Swami Dayanand Saraswati was revolutionary in character.

Besides caste system, he opposed early marriage, *purdah* system, conservatism and illiteracy, and advocated abolition of untouchability, emancipation of women and the development of education in Hindi and Sanskrit. Swami Dayanand Saraswati aspired and believed that new India must be built on an economic and spiritual foundation of her own. In his eyes the monistic vedanta could not serve the purpose. He vehemently criticised the well established idealistic monism of vedantins³ according to which only *Brahman* is beginningless and it is the efficient as well as the material cause of the world. In place of monism Swami Dayanand advocated and established '*Traitavada*', according to which not only *Brahman* but also *Prakrti* and *Atman* (*Jiwa*) are beginningless. He asserts that *Brahman* and *Jiwa* are not one.⁴ They are quite different entities. *Brahman* (*Ishwara*), *Atma* (*Jiwa*) and *Prakrti* are absolutely real and *Anadi*. Like Ramanuja, Dayanand also believes that the fundamental cause of these three entities is not the *Reality* (*Parmatman*)⁵ because all of them are beginningless. This attitude about God may be seen at several places in *Vedas* e.g. God is *Sat*⁶ (Real), *Cit*⁷ (Conscious) and *Anand*⁸ (Bliss). He is pious⁹ creator¹⁰ of the world.

Besides this, Dayanand holds that *Brahman* (also referred to as God) does not create *Prakrti*. God is efficient cause and *Prakrti* is the material cause of cosmos. Hence being independent in existence these three substances, God, Soul and *Prakrti* are co-related within the Universe as the three causes—the efficient, the auxiliary and the material.

God is the highest form of being. It is the supreme spirit. It dominates everything but requires nothing to safeguard its existence. It is physiqueless and absolute; that is why it is omnipresent. Thus, if God is considered to be in the shape of any statue or idol, it will not be omnipresent and this will be injustice with the concept of God which is beginningless (*Anadi*). Also Swami Dayanand opposes *Avatarvada*, according to which at the time of every degradation of *Dharma* and spread of *Adharma* God takes birth for the upliftment of mankind.¹¹ But the question arises, if God takes birth, it has to die also.

Swami Dayanand made a clear difference between God and a deity.¹² He speaks of several deities as expressed in the *Vedas*. According to him due to possessing divine qualities a deity is called a deity but at no place it is described as worth worshipping. So, God is only one and deities are several in number. For example earth (*Prithivi*), water (*Jala*), fire (*Agni*) etc. are deities but none of them is God.

According to Swami Dayanand, *Jivas* (Souls) are numerous, but finite in number. They are different from their bodies. Though these lower spirits are immaterial, they

need matter for their growth and development, as knower and known are co-relational. These spirits are imperfect but essentially progressive; they are doubly dependent—on God (for spiritual leadership) and on matter (for concrete conditions and forms of being).

Jiwa (Soul) is undecaying and eternal, and at the time of death only body dies, not the *Jiwa*.¹³ Also souls change their old bodies like the old clothes which are changed by men.¹⁴ Swamiji further asserts that in empirical life *Jiwa* owes the qualities of action, pleasure, sorrow, knowledge etc. and when it is liberated it does hold these natural pure qualities except with their physical existence.¹⁵ With the help of his natural pure qualities *Jiwa* performs his activities such as hearing, touching etc. *Prakrti*, according to Swami Dayanand Saraswati, is the material cause of the universe which is unspiritual, inert, eternal, undifferentiated and homogeneous in nature.

Showing the co-relation between God, Soul and Matter, Swami Dayanand asserts that God is the supreme power. All the laws of the material world are functioning under the power of God. Matter creates the conditions for the action, as every action is done for the benefit of souls. According to Swami Dayanand, God is the centre of the universe. Souls are free from the bonds of matter. Soul and God are related only as vessel and its contents but they are not identical to each other. Matter is also an independent substance which forms the world of objects and phenomena.

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Resurgence of Hinduism—Birth of Arya Samaj

Madhavi Yasin

The Brahmo Samaj, although never attaining the status of a popular movement, was, undoubtedly, the fountainhead of the reform movements in different parts of India. The Arya Samaj unlike Brahmo Samaj has purely Indian appeal and is marked by aggressive attitude. Its founder was Swami Dayanand Saraswati. He was born in the year 1824 in a village Tarikara belonging to the Raja of Morvi in Kathiawad.¹ The place was under the influence of *Sthanakavasias* breakaway offshoot of Svetambara sect of Jains known for their denunciation of idolatry. Mula Sankara, the first name of Dayanand in his early age, must have been influenced by them (*Sthanakavasias*), and at the age of fourteen he revolted against idol worship.² In 1846, he left home due to differences with his father on idol worship and to escape marriage.

In his wanderings the main quest was to gain knowledge. During this period he became an ascetic, renounced the world and took the name Dayanand Saraswati. In 1860 at Mathura he studied under a blind but a scholarly teacher of great repute, Virajanand, for two and a half years. Before parting, the teacher took a vow from him to preach the truth contained in the *Vedas* to demolish all the fallacies of the prevalent Hinduism and to propagate the conception of one God and rejection of idol worship. It has been rightly remarked that, "never was any human pledge kept more loyally and faithfully."³

He started spreading the message of his *guru* in Sanskrit. At the close of 1872, he went to Calcutta, where he met Keshab Chandra Sen, the leader of Brahmo Samaj. Under his advice he began to wear clothes, and started preaching in Hindi. Very soon he became popular in northern India. At Allahabad in 1874 he completed *Satyarth Prakash*,⁴ a compendium of ethics, morals and social code in Hindi.

In 1875, he founded Arya Samaj in Bombay. For some time, merger of Prarthana Samaj with Arya Samaj was in the air, but it did not materialise. In 1877 he visited Lahore, and was warmly welcomed. He founded the Arya Samaj at Lahore also, and it prospered so speedily that it totally eclipsed the Samaj at Bombay. The Arya Samaj spread rapidly in northern India, but in his home state Gujrat the movement had little impact.⁵

Beliefs of Dayanand

1. There is one God only. He alone is to be worshipped, spiritually, not the images.

2. The four *Vedas* are God's knowledge (*sruti*). They contain all religious truth, and all science. There is no polytheism in the *Veas*. The many names which occur in them are all epithets of the one true God.
3. The *Vedas* teach transmigration and karma.
4. Salvation is emancipation from transmigration.

In 1877 the official creed of Arya Samaj (ten principles) was announced.⁶ He regarded the *Vedas* sacred with a fanatic's zeal. He even rejected the *Upnishadas*, as a part of the *Vedas*.⁷ There was a well considered reason for this. Dayanand had seen the encroachments on Hinduism by Islam and Christianity. Both religions had their sacred books, *Quran* and Bible, thought to be universal and infallible. He saw that the Hindus also needed some such scripture to save themselves from the attacks of the missionaries and conversions to Christianity and Islam. Thus he gave the status of universalism and infallibility to the *Vedas*. He hammered upon his people the conviction that the Aryans were the chosen people, *Vedas* the chosen gospel, India the chosen land.⁸

In fighting against the traditional Hinduism with its idol worship, rites, dogmas and privileges to the Brahmins, Dayanand may be compared to Martin Luther.⁹ The watchword of Luther was "Back to the Bible", the watchword of Dayanand was "Back to the *Vedas*."¹⁰ According to him the *Vedas* contained even the most recent inventions of modern science, and he interpreted the verses of *Vedas* accordingly. His interpretations have been described by the western scholars as far-fetched and arbitrary.¹¹

Thus the theology of the Arya Samaj may be summed up in one word, viz., the *Vedas*. The first and third principles of the official creed of Arya Samaj, namely, 'God is primary cause of all true knowledge', and 'The *Vedas* are the books of true knowledge' present the divine origin of the *Vedas*.¹²

The problem which confronted Dayanand was as to how to reform Hinduism, side by side effecting a synthesis between old and new, East and West, in such a way as to guarantee the intellectual and spiritual supremacy of the Indian people. The solution to this problem was found by Swami Dayanand in the doctrine of the *Vedas* as the revealed word of God. Swami Dayanand's theory of the *Vedas* may be outlined as follows.¹³ The word *Veda* means 'knowledge'. It is God's pure and perfect knowledge. This transcendental knowledge embraces the fundamental principles of all sciences.^{13a} Dayanand says, "I regard the *Vedas* as self-evident truth, admitting of

no doubt and depending on the authority of no other book, being represented in nature, the kingdom of God."¹⁴ But, ".....the doctrines of the Arya Samaj are based not on the Vedas themselves but upon an uncritical and unscientific interpretation thereof."¹⁵

Dayanand laid stress on social service and education for girls and boys. He also favoured the teaching of western education and sciences.¹⁶ The reform societies established so far were defensive in nature; the Arya Samaj was the first society which forced Christianity and Islam to be on defensive¹⁷. He fought against them on their own platform. His *Shuddhi* movement¹⁸ and protection of the cows has not only alienated the Muslims, but sometimes conflagrated into communal riots. Nevertheless, it boosted the sagging morale of the Hindus and removed their inferiority complex. In 1882, he formed the *Gaurakshini Sabha*, or cow protection association, and about the same time published his book, *Gokarunanidhi*¹⁹; cow protection gained momentum after the death of its founder. However it strained relations between the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. Similarly, their *Sangathan*, a parallel to the Christian missionary organisation, also embittered relations between the two communities. The Christians also took offence to the cow protection movement, *Shuddhi*, *Sangathan*.²⁰

Dayanand taught through Arya Samaj the ideals of self-confidence, self-help and self-reliance, which engendered a militant nationalism.²¹ He was lucky to have a trio as his successors, Lala Hansraj, Pandit Guru Datta and Lala Lajpat Rai to carry out his mission. Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai were political heirs to Dayanand Saraswati who represented extremism in Indian political life. The spurt of militant nationalism in northern India in the last quarter of nineteenth and in the beginning of the twentieth century with the slogan Arya for the Aryans was the political legacy of the Arya Samaj.

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1. Hastings, James, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ii, p. 57-58. During his life time he refused to make known either his name or his birth place, lest his relatives should hinder him in his work or after his demise try to provide a successor as head of the sect. After his death, however, in 1883, it came out that his real name was Mul Sankar, son of Amba

Sankar. His father was a well-to-do man, by occupation a banker, by descent a Brahman, and in religion a stern and puritanical worshipper of Shiva. The life of Mul Sankar, alias Swami Dayanand Saraswati, falls into three nearly equal portions namely his life at home (1824-1845), his wanderings and studies (1845-1863), and his public ministry (1863-1883)..... Swami Dayanand was, from all accounts, a man of splendid physique, impressive personality and great strength of will. J.P. Scot speaks of his 'magnificent presence' and 'imperious zeal' and tells how 'he would crush an ordinary opponent with a sledge-hammer style.' For an account of his life we are indebted to his Autobiography, which was dictated by him to the editor of Theosophist, and published in English in that magazine.

2. Farquhar, J.N., *Modern Religious Movements in India*, 1st Indian Edition, July, 1967, p. 102.
3. *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, 1963, II. p. 108., hence B.P.I.R.), Singh, Bawa Chhajju, *The Life and Teachings of Swami Dayanand Sarswati*, 1903, p. 77., Jones, Kenneth W., *Arya Dharam*, Indian Reprint, New Delhi, 1976. p. 34., "Dayanand's transformation from Sanyasi to social reformer was accelerated by his growing interaction with the anglicised Indians."
4. Besides *Satyartha Prakash*, he wrote (2) *Veda Bhashya Bhumika*, an introduction to his Vedic commentary, partly in Sanskrit and partly in Hindi (3) *Ved Bhashya*, a Vedic commentary in Sanskrit on Yajurveda and major part of the Rigveda, vide B.P.I.R. II. p. 110, Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya translated it into English under the title, *The Light of Truth, English Translation of Swami Dayanand's Satyarth Prakash*, Allahabad, 1956, 392. *Satyarth* analyses the caste system in a scientific method. "Even now only that man is fit to be called a *Brahmana* who is learned and of good habits, and an ignorant man deserves to be called a *Shudra*." He traces the degeneration of the "golden age" of Vedic truth from the *Mahabharata*, when the Brahmanas became ignorant, and to preserve their supremacy over the three other castes they ordained, "We are your objects of worship, without serving us you cannot get heaven or salvation. If you will not serve us, you will be sent to the terrible hell. the epithets 'Brahmana' and 'Venerable', which according to the Vedas and books of sages, were applicable to only those who were most learned and pious, came to be usurped by these ignorant, sensual, hypocritical, irresponsible and vicious people." *Ibid.*, p. 393.
5. Sarda, Har Bilas, *Life of Dayanand, Word Teacher*, Ajmer, 1946, pp. 162-163., 337-344., Jones, K.W. *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.
6. God is the primary cause of all true knowledge and of everything known by its name.
 2. God is all Truth, all Knowledge, all Beatitude, Incorporeal, Almighty, Just, Merciful, Unbegotten, Infinites, Unchangeable, Without a Beginning, Incomparable, the support and the Lord of All, All-pervading, Omniscient, Imperishable, Immortal, Exempt from fear, External, Holy, and the cause of Universe, to Him alone worship is due.
 3. The *Vedas* are the books of true knowledge and it is the paramount duty of every Arya to read or hear them read, to teach and preach them to others.
 4. One should always be ready to accept truth and renounce untruth.
 5. All actions ought to be done after a thorough consideration of right or wrong.
 6. The primary object of the Samaj is to do good to the world by improving the physical, spiritual and social condition of mankind.

7. All ought to be treated with love, justice, and due regard to their merits.
8. Ignorance ought to be dispelled and knowledge diffused.
9. No one ought to be contented with his own good alone, but every one ought to regard his prosperity as included in that of others.
10. In matters which affect the general social well being of whole society, one ought to discard all differences and not allow one's individuality to interfere, but in strictly personal matters every one may act with freedom. Vide Hastings, James, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
7. Pal, B.C. *Memoirs of My Life and Times*, II, Calcutta, 1951, p. XXXIV.
8. Macdonald, Ramsay, *The Awakening of India*, London, 1911, p. 37.
9. Hastings, James, ed., *op. cit.*, The epithet *maha murkh* (great fool) was often on his lips when debating with the defenders of idolatry. Olcott speaks of him as 'tall, dignified in carriage, and gracious in manner', and gives a general estimate of him in these words :

"The Swami was undoubtedly a great man, learned, Sanskrit Pandit, with immense pluck, force of will, and self reliance—a leader of men." Vide, Olcott, *Old Diary Leaves*, p. 406.
10. Griswold, H.D., *Indian Evangelical Review*, January, 1892. With this religious watchword another watchword was implicitly, if not explicitly, combined namely 'India for the Indians.' Combining these two, we have the principle, both religious and political, that the religion of India as well as the sovereignty of India ought to belong to the Indian people, in other words, Indian religion for the Indians, and Indian sovereignty for the Indians.
11. *Ibid.* The Dayananda interpretation of the word "Deva" in the Rigveda, Muller, Max, *Biographical Essays*, ii, p. 170.
12. *Handbook of the Arya Samaj*, p. 21.
13. Hastings, James, ed., *op. cit.*, pp 58—59.
13. a *Ibid.*, p. 59. These principles were revealed in two ways (1) in the form of four Vedas (2) in the form of word of nature, which was created according to the principles laid down in the Vedas
14. *Handbook of the Arya Samaj*, p. 35.
15. Hastings, James, ed. *op. cit.*, p. 60.
16. Chand, Tara, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, 1967, II, p. 423; Farquhar, J.N., *op. cit.*, p. 119. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ii. p. 558., "When people find no difference between the Anglo-Vedic Government and mission schools as regards English education, and see in the former additional advantages of Vedic instruction, the Vedic school will be crowded with boys and I trust will do substantial good to the sons of Aryavarta. The English language will also be a medium of comparison of the Aryans to the modern science and enable the boys to be acquainted with the manners and ideas of the greatest nations of the modern world." *Regenerator of Arya Varta* September 3, 1883, p. 3. For establishing the Anglo Oriental Colleges the Arya Samajists drew inspiration from Sir Sayyid's M.A.O. College, "Where Vedas might be taught side by side with other learning." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 7, November 8, 1883, pp. 4—5., They also emphasised upon the teaching of Vedas "If the fair garden of Aryavarta is now being overwhelmed by weeds of materialists, atheists, sectarians, heretics and unbelievers the cause may be traced to the want of Vedic schools, the absolute necessity of which is daily being keenly felt by us. If the Vedic schools were established, all the evils that arise from early marriages, premature deaths, prohibition of widow marriage and excessive expenditure incurred in marriages, would have been put a stop to. Were our children acquainted with the Vedas they would never have fallen prey to Buddhism, Christianity, Mohammedanism, licentiousness and drunkenness." *Arya Magazine*, May 1882, pp. 1—2.

17. Narang, Gokul Chand, *Real Hinduism*, 188., Ahluwalia, M.M., *Freedom Struggle in India* 1858—1909, Delhi, 1965. "Accordingly, they were not prepared to tolerate any attacks on the missionaries, they returned a blow for blow. Taking hold of many vulnerable points in their adversaries, they often succeeded in flooring them." *Regenerator of Arya Varta*, Vol. No: 7, August, 20, 1883, p. 3. In August 1882, the *Arya Updeshak Mandal* (Aryan Missionary circle) was founded, "with the special object of dealing a death blow to Christianity with weapons of reason and fair argument." *Ibid.* August 20, 1883., p. 4., "Every evening they walk out to the Anarkali (Bazaar) in singing bands where they stop and preach for a while against Christianity after which they turn to the city singing hymns and prayers to the deity. The band appears just like the salvation Army marching with the difference that its members have no uniforms."
18. *Shuddhi* is a Sanskrit word which means purification in religious terminology; it is now applied to (1) Conversion to Hinduism of persons belonging to foreign religions (2) Reconversion of those who have recently, or at a remote period, adopted one of the foreign religions, and (3) Reclamation i. e., raising the status of the depressed classes. *Punjab Census Report* for 1911, p. 148.
19. Singh, Bawa Chhaju, *The Life and Teachings of Swami Dayanand Saraswati*. Lahore, Edition Press, 1903.
20. Chirol, Valentine, *Indian Unrest*, p. 109. Jones, John P. *India, Its Life and Thought*, pp. 403-4., Zacharias, *Renascent India*, p. 39, "With him rowdism has entered Indian public life." Barrier, N.G., *The Sikhs and their Literature*, Delhi, 1970, pp xvii—xiv. In his introduction, "The Sikh Resurgence: the Period and its Literature," Professor Barrier has given an excellent short summary of the Sikh search for self and the Arya contribution to that search. Singh, Ganda, "The Origins of the Hindu—Sikh Tension in the Punjab", *Journal of Indian History*, XXIX, April, 1961, pp. 119-123. Singh, Bhai Amar, *Arya Samaj aur uske bani ki taraf se duniya ke mukhtalif hadiyan-i-Mazhab ke beizzati* (Disrespect of the leaders of various religions in the world by the Arya Samaj and its founder) Lahore, 1890, pp. 23-24. Singh, Bhagat Lakshman, *Autobiography*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 135., Jones, K.W., *op. cit.*, p. 137., "The Sikh-Arya controversy quickly moved from the platform to the press. Sikh and non-Sikh papers denounced the Samaj for its aggressive stance, its habit of condemning other religious leaders and doctrines... In the process of argument and debate, reforming Sikhs increasingly concerned themselves with defining their own identities within Sikhism, and for Sikhism within the broader world of Punjab. This quest lay dormant, implicit in the search of young Sikhs [for self and for community. It would become explicit with the close of the century, and with a second confrontation between Aryas and Sikhs; *Arya Patrika* December 12, 1885, p. 6; *Ibid.*, May 25, 1886. p. 3; *Ibid.*, September 13, 1887, pp. 1 -4.
21. Lajpat Rai's recollections of his life and work for an independent India while living in the United States and Japan, in *Lajpat Rai; Autobiographical Writings*, ed. by V.C. Joshi, Delhi, 1965, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ii. p. 558.

Dimensions of Swami Dayanand's Religious Thoughts

N.K. Sharma

Swami Dayanand was a multi-faceted genius. He has been studied either as an educationist or as a social reformer, but his place as a religious revivalist is still uncertain. Surprisingly, opinions are sharply divided on Dayanand's 'brand' of Hinduism. Dayanand is either too-much eulogised or too-much denigrated as a religious thinker. The aim of the present paper is to evaluate—without prejudice—the dimensions of his religious thoughts and their relevance to life. This paper will further deal with Dayanand's controversial concepts of 'Hinduism', 'Vedic Dharma', 'Idolatory', 'Truth', 'God', 'Salvation', etc. An attempt is also made to place him in the true perspective of his times.

The Hindu society of Swami Dayanand's times was in a state of mess. Islam and Christianity posed the greatest threats to its survival. The Hindu society, undeniably, seemed to have lost all its traditional grip on the minds of its devotees. "There was no life," observed D. Pandey, "and no capacity for progress in the Hindu society."¹ The negative impact of European culture adversely affected the Indian way of life and its religious institutions. As C.C. Dutt rightly put it : "The Influence of Europe brought to bear on India in the nineteenth century was aggressively rational and anti-religious."² The chaotic conditions prevailing in the field of religion drew the attention of Dayanand's contemporary religious reformers. Raja Ram Mohan Roy admitted that Hinduism had no future without its being thoroughly overhauled. Lokmanya B.G. Tilak pleaded for "a revival of orthodox Hinduism as a counter-blow to the growing Westernism."³ Swami Vivekanand warned the Indians "not to be dragged away out of this Indian life".⁴ He reminded them of the futility of imitating Western ways of life : "We cannot become Western, therefore, imitating the Western is useless."⁵ Swami Dayanand opposed tooth and nail the Christianising of Indians in India. He launched a counter-offensive against the Christian missionaries who, he believed, were out to destroy Hinduism.

Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj, was the most consistent critic of Hindu orthodoxy and its stereo-typed modes of worship. "There is no place in it", remarks D.Vable, "for miracles or the supernatural powers of the Gurus and Godmen."⁶ Swami Dayanand was dead against animal sacrifice. He, boldly, rejected all those religious practices and beliefs which were false and irrational. Dayanand

could never approve of any post funeral ceremonies such as offering of *pinda* or conducting of memorial feasts. He warned the Hindus that "nothing should be done for the departed after the remains have been cremated."⁷ He charged the orthodox Brahmins with devising "these funeral rites from motives of pecuniary gain."⁸ He could never recommend *shraradha* or *tarpan* for the departed souls to satisfy the hunger of their dead ancestors. Dayanand displayed no curiosity in divine miracles. He refused to accept the popular Islamic belief that "twelve springs could gush forth on striking a rock with a rod."⁹ He would never compromise with those Brahmins who were "ignorant, lascivious, deceitful, licentious, and irreligious."¹⁰ He was particularly severe on those who "ensnared all in the net of hypocrisy"¹¹ and ruined their blind devotees "physically, mentally and materially."¹²

Swami Dayanand put up a tough stand against idolatry and declared it as a "fraud."¹³ For him, idol-worship was the direct outcome of "ignorance."¹⁵ He refused to recognise anything as divine which was devoid of "signs of consciousness."¹⁵ His ideology was that an "All-pervading spirit can neither come into an idol, nor leave it."¹⁶ Dayanand had never hesitated to call image-worship as "the crudest form of idolatry."¹⁷ He told his adversaries very bluntly that idols could never unite a man with God. He further argued that temples and images had got nothing to do with the Vedic rituals. Dayanand found idolatry very expensive because it revealed man's "poverty and indolence."¹⁸ He disapproved of idolatry because it had been interdicted in the *Vedas* and the *Shastras*. Idolatry, for him, was never accepted as the Aryan mode of worship. Dayanand was equally critical of going on *Tirthas*, which, in his views, were a colossal waste of time and money. *Tirthas* had no religious values in man's quest of God. Swamiji declared that the "so-called sacred places on land and water are not *tirthas*."¹⁹ Like Raja Ram Mohan Roy Dayanand also vigorously attacked the image-worship and worked for the redemption of the Hindu society from the clutches of the self-centred priests.

Swami Dayanand had always emphasised the conservation of the *Vedas* and the Vedic culture. "It was upon the infallibility of the *Vedas*", noted D. Pandey, "that he wanted to build up the Hindu society and the Hindu nation."²⁰ For Dayanand, the *Vedas* are divine revelation and stand for "God's words."²¹ He propagated Vedic religion because it was "free from all doubts and enlightens one on all subjects."²² He found the Bible as "the work of a man, not of God."²³ He also found faults with the *Qoran* because it was "full of partiality and favouritism (to some), cannot be the word of God."²⁴ Dayanand invited all and sundry to go through the *Vedas* for the realisation of Truth. He opened the gates of temples wide-open for women and *Shudras* to read and listen to the *Vedas* for self-extension. As a confirmed Arya Samajist, he advised his devotees "to mould their conduct according to the teaching of the *Vedas*."²⁵ He called upon the people to read the *Vedas* with "proper pronunciation and accent"²⁶ to relish their divine flavour. Dayanand enjoined upon the

Arya Samajists to read and preach the Vedic gospel throughout the whole world. His call "back to the Vedas" lent credibility to the *Vedas* and reminded the Indians of their rich past heritage. As D. Vable aptly observed: "Dayanand restored the *Vedas* to their pristine glory and divinity by rejecting what the Brahmins claim to be the religion of the *Vedas*."²⁷

Swami Vivekanand too was a leading apostle of Truth in the 19th. century. He always advised his followers to "Be true, be honest, be pure."²⁸ He persuaded his devotees to be totally identified with truth for their "spiritual expansion". "Be bold and face/The Truth:/Be one with it."²⁹ He asked them to be "Beware of everything that is untrue."³⁰ Like Swami Vivekanand, Swami Dayanand also displayed unflinching faith in truth: "My sole object is to believe in what is true, and help others to believe in it, and to reject what is untrue and others to do the same."³¹ Dayanand was sincere, even to bluntness, and that created at times problems. Truth was, without any exaggeration, his *dharma*. According to Dayanand, it was "sin to tell a lie, and always a virtue to speak the truth."³² He could never bear the truth being mixed up with "rubbish, myths, and fabrications."³³ He found adulterated truth to be suicidal: "Therefore even truth, which is adulterated with untruth, should be avoided, like food adulterated with poison."³⁴ That is why he advised the Arya Samajists to shun the *Shastras* which were "replete with incredibly absurd stories".³⁵ Swami Dayanand had always preferred fact to fiction in his life.

Swami Dayanand had a remarkable moral vision. He impressed upon his well-wishers to "shun vice and practice virtue."³⁶ He pleaded with them not to do "any thing unjust"³⁷ and to "dread evil doing on all days."³⁸ According to Dayanand "Gentlemen are called Aryas, while rogues are called Dasyus."³⁹ He gathered from his experience of life that the "good and virtuous will enjoy happiness, while wicked will be subjected to pain and suffering, whichever faith they may belong."⁴⁰ For him a sin can never go unpunished in life. "Whosoever commits a sin must suffer for it."⁴¹ Like Swami Dayanand, Swami Vivekanand also wanted his followers to "Resist all evils, mental and physical."⁴² He had unshakable faith in the "immortality of good."⁴³ "No good is ever undone."⁴³ Like Swami Dayanand, he could never compromise with hypocrisy or roguery. "There should not be a breath of immortality nor a stain of policy which is bad."⁴⁴

Swami Dayanand was the staunch exponent of the monotheistic concept of God. For him, there was one and only one God who needed to be worshipped. He found in 'OM' the sum and substance of God. The concept of multiplicity of Gods had never appealed to Dayanand. "If there are many Gods, do not they quarrel and wrangle with each other just as men do here."⁴⁵ He was equally opposed to the doctrine of incarnation of God. He argued that God had never incarnated Himself as *Shiva*, *Vishnu*, *Ganesh*, *Surya* and *Devi*, etc. and also never appeared in flesh as *Rama* *Krishna* etc.⁴⁶

Swami Vivekanand had an abiding faith in the personal God, "God is in us, and that we are in God."⁴⁷ Swami Dayanand had no faith in the doctrine of the Incarnation of God. He refused to recognise any self-styled mediator between man and God. To Swamiji, the doctrine of Incarnation, to use B.Mal's words, "limits the perfection of God."⁴⁸ Dayanand was convinced beyond even an iota of doubt that no "one can ever become God's equal."⁴⁹

According to Swami Dayanand, God is unborn. "He is *Anandi*. He has no cause or beginning"⁵⁰ and is "not subject to birth and death."⁵¹ Swami Vivekanand found God beyond the limitations of birth and death. "He alone is eternal, everything else is transitory."⁵² He experienced God to be "all and in all."⁵³ Like Swami Vivekanand, Swami Dayanand had no misgivings about the "all-pervading"⁵⁴ nature of God. He criticised the Christians who held that God was "more particularly present in such places as the Mount Sinai and the fourth Heaven."⁵⁵ To Dayanand, God is just and merciful and He dispenses justice to all and is free from the least taint of partiality."⁵⁶ He could never see eye to eye with those who believed that God could "act arbitrarily."⁵⁷ He regarded God to be the friend of all; "God is an enemy to none."⁵⁸ For him, "God is formless."⁵⁹

Like Swami Vivekanand, Swami Dayanand also had no doubts about the continuity of life. "Whatever exists cannot cease to exist."⁶⁰ To Swami Vivekanand, soul is "ever free,"⁶¹ and extends beyond death. He had absolute faith in the mortality of the body; "Birth and death belong to the body only."⁶² Swami Dayanand believed in the doctrine of transmigration of the soul. He discovered that each soul underwent a succession of births before gaining its final emancipation. Unlike Islam or Christianity the founder of the Arya Samaj could never accept that each soul appeared once in the world only. He rejected the view that the soul, after having abandoned the body, remained in a state of quiescence till the Day of Judgement. Unlike the orthodox Brahmins, he had never offered any short-cuts to reach Heaven.

Salvation implies the perpetual union of soul with God. The merger of soul with God leads to perpetual bliss. Swami Vivekanand believed that a pure mind could easily identify itself with God: "Thus in the purity of our hearts shall be seen God."⁶³ For him, a man with a "pure heart and reverent attitude"⁶⁴ would find himself "in His Hands."⁶⁵ God "reveals Himself to the pure heart."⁶⁵ Swami Dayanand believed that the perfect knowledge of the *Vedas* could lead to salvation. For him, the "means of salvation are the worship of God."⁶⁶ Dayanand held that the salvation of the soul would never be at its own cost. Clearly, it was an anti-Vedantic stance.

Swami Dayanand laid a special stress upon the daily need of worship. The *Sanskars* of Dayanand's conception are simple and devoid of any exhibitionism or sense of waste. He dispensed away with temples and idols in this simplified mode of religious worship. The aim of *Upasana* (meditation) is to engross one's mind in the

much-desired bliss of God. It is the best means of divine worship. *Sandhya* is to be performed daily in the morning and evening as also *havan* or *Yajna*. It is a collection of Vedic *mantras* which are to be recited everyday for the purification of tension-ridden minds and the polluted environment. *Appuja* is intended to interpret *puja* or personal worship and it makes us conscious of the futility of paying the least-desired reverence for inanimate objects. *Yajana* is the sacrificial fire ceremony which denounces the sacrifice of animals to win the good-will of divine beings. Swami Dayanand insisted that *Pranayama* should be made an essential part of religious devotion. He felt that *Sandhya* could not be regarded as complete unless it was accompanied by *Pranayama*. There should be meditation or *Jap* of 'OM' or 'Gayatri mantra' for sometime at the end of every religious worship. Finally, *Agnihotra* must complete the process of worship. It should also be performed along with the chanting of prayers and practice of meditation.

Swami Dayanand's response to religion had a remarkable social bias. As a humanist, Dayanand's commitment to life was total and final. He was dead against escapism of any sort from this world for self-realisation. He was exceedingly delighted to serve mankind with love and piety and asked other like-minded people to act likewise. Like Swami Dayanand, Swami Vivekanand's love for humanity was both deep and penetrating. His humble suggestion was that "We ought not to hate any one."⁶⁸ He argued that hatred in its varied manifestations would adversely affect life: "No man, no nation can hate others and live."⁶⁹ Likewise, Swami Dayanand nourished ill-will towards none. As a true follower of the Vedic Dharma, he preached love for the under-privileged. Dayanand's intense love for the suffering mankind is best reflected in the Sixth well-known Principle of the Arya Samaj: "To do good to the whole world is the chief aim of the Samaj." The Arya Samaj under-takes to accomplish this humanitarian mission through wide-spread social welfare and philanthropic undertakings. This aspect of Arya Samaj was carried on more vigorously and on a wider scale by Vivekanand and his followers.

Swami Dayanand, as a religious reformer, was opposed to the artificial division of the society on the basis of the castes. Undoubtedly, he was the forceful champion of the casteless society for the realisation of national integration and communal harmony. He had the distinction of opening the doors of the Vedic Dharma to mankind without any distinction of caste, colour and creed. Dayanand strove to rebuild a caste-free society. He demolished the mythical line of demarcation between a "superior" Brahmin and an "inferior" *Pariah* and he made to sit them side by side in any social or religious gathering. The founder of the Arya Samaj was liberal enough to appoint an untouchable to act as a priest in any religious ceremony or discourse. An Arya Samajist will feel honoured, if not blessed, by sitting side by side with a low caste reciting the same Vedic text and sacred *mantras* every Sunday. Swami Dayanand was deeply involved in the welfare and emancipation of untouchables. "Dayanand

would not tolerate," aptly remarked Romain Rolland, "the abominable injustice of the existence of untouchables and no body has been a more ardent champion of their outraged right."⁷⁰

Swami Dayanand deserves a significant place in the field of religion. As a religious reformer, he had never claimed for himself the title of a prophet. Dayanand was never anti-Hindusim, but he could not afford to overlook its limitations. He was more particularly critical of its dogmatic strains. Dayanand's bold criticism of Hinduism proved to be a blessing in disguise. He made the Hindus conscious of the fast degenerating institution and prompted them to set this house in order. His aim was to revitalise Hinduism only. Dayanand was the most powerful exponent of ancient Vedic Dharma. He discovered in the *Vedas* all the divine wisdom and knowledge of the world. Dayanand did not disapprove of any religion which was pure and based on truth. He was opposed to the very concept of domination in the matter of religion. Truth was his *Dharam* and it remained the dominating passion of his life. He wanted everyone to dissociate himself from vice and practice virtue. Dayanand strived to realise absolute purity in life. He rejected idolatory because it served no spiritual purpose. He disliked it for its being too stereo-typed and lifeless. Dayanand found that rituals, ceremonies, superstitions and miracles had no place in religion. He believed in the continuity of life and the transmigration of the soul. He believed that salvation could be realised through the knowledge of the *Vedas*, the worship of God, etc. Dayanand was no romantic escapist and his commitment to life was total and absolute. His philosophy of religion was rational, scientifically-based and pragmatic. Swami Dayanand imparted a touch of universality to Hindu *Dharam* and worked tirelessly for its redemption.

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Swami Dayanand Saraswati : His Life and Works

Raj Kumar

A nation grows into what it shall be by the force of that which it was in the past and is in the present, and in this growth there come periods of conscious and subconscious stock-taking when the national soul selects, modifies, rejects, keeps out of all that it had or is acquiring whatever it needs as substance and capital for its growth and action in the future: in such a period of stock-taking we are still and Dayanand was one of its great and formative spirits.

Sri Aurobindo,
Bankim-Tilak-Dayanand,
pp.36-37.

Swami Dayanand Saraswati was a typical fearless social and religious reformer in the 19th century. Through his life and career he preached Indians to imbibe courage, fortitude, moral soundness, power, strength of body and mind and such other virtues as would make them independent and possessors of sovereign imperial sway. He claimed India for Indians.

Dayanand stands out by himself, with peculiar and salutary distinctness, one unique in his type and he is unique in his work. He was Mystic and Yogi and could remain in *Samadhi* for 18 hours at a stretch. He would live on milk alone for days together. He remained hungry sometimes as it was not his custom to beg for food. He faced hardships and was stoned and poisoned many times. Like a true saint he forgave them. Nobel-laureate Romain Rolland, Sri Aurobindo and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan paid him rich tributes for his character, wisdom, strong will and courage.

Dayanand's message was 'Back to the Vedas' and to lay the foundations of society on them. His interpretation of the Vedas was not only scientific and rational but also this was surely a master glance of practical intuition on his part, for, in a real sense, the Vedas were the original source of religion, culture and civilization of India; they were the real foundations of Indian thought, philosophy and knowledge.

Born of a Brahmana family at Tankara in the State of Morvi, South Gujarat, Dayanand turned out to be a rebel and militant child of his family and the age in which he was born. His father Krashanji Laji Trivedi tried his best to prepare the child in the Shaiva traditional way. In the process Dayanand learnt certain lessons in Sanskrit grammar and some Vedic text by heart. He accompanied his father on his religious missions. He is said to have completed his formal education in 1838. His father had a banking house, a hereditary office, and he wanted Dayanand to help him in his business.

Like all other great men of the world Dayanand also passed through periods of conflict, suffering and an urge to seek the truth.

The conflict came when his faith in the traditional religious practices was shaken at the sight of a mouse dancing on the idol of Lord Shiva for whom he was made to fast. He felt that it was impossible to reconcile to the idea of an omnipotent, living god, with the idol which allowed the mouse to run over his body and polluted his image without the slightest protest from him. All his father's arguments and persuasion could not end his conflict.

Soon after, notwithstanding the best possible care, his younger sister expired. It was his first bereavement, and the shock he received was very great. He said, 'Friends and relatives were sobbing and lamenting around me but I stood like one perturbed, plunged in revery.'¹ He realised that no one could escape death and he too could be snatched away any time. He asked himself: "What should I do to alleviate this human misery? Where shall I find the assurance for and means of attaining salvation? I came to a decision then and there that I would strive to find an answer to these questions, cost whatever it might, so that I could save myself from the untold miseries of the dying moments."²

His uncle who loved him dearly also passed away shortly afterwards. "His death left me in a state of utter dejection and with a still profounder conviction I settled in my mind that there was nothing stable, nothing worth living for in this world."³

Apprehending marital wedlock, he left home in 1846 in search of truth/Moksha. For more than 15 years he wandered through one part of the country to the other—on the banks of the rivers, thick jungles, in the hermits of various *yogis*, *sadhuis*, *sanyasis*; on the peaks of the hills to learn the science of *yoga* and through *yoga*, the *Moksha* which was his ambition of life at that time. Ultimately he found a guru in Swami Virjananda at Mathura with whom he stayed for 3 years (1861-63). Swami Virjananda was a great grammarian. Dayanand had so far devoted himself to vedanta, *yoga* and some grammar. Perhaps it is quite possible that after his wanderings in the country and meetings with *sadhuis*, *yogis*, *sanyasis* of various sects, he

might have discovered that the deepest secret of religion and *moksha* lay hidden in the Hindu scriptures and as they are in Sanskrit, they could be opened only with the key of grammar. It was for this reason that he came to Virjananda, who was recognized as an established authority on grammar.⁴

During his stay with Swami Virjanand, besides mastering the *Ashtadhyayi*, *Mahabhashya*, *Nirukta*, *Nighantu*, which provided him with the key to unlock the treasury of the Vedas, Dayanand learnt to control his body and mind through yogic powers.

Having finished his studies, Dayanand made customary offerings of cloves, so dear to Swami Virjananda, as *dakshina* to his teacher, saying that he was a poor man and could not offer anything except that. Virjananda's reaction to it was indeed wonderful. He observed : "I demand from you something else as a *dakshina*. Take a vow before me that so long as you live you will work incessantly to spread true knowledge of the *Vedas* and the *Arsha-granthas* and condemn works which teach false doctrines and tenets; and that you will even give your life if necessary in re-establishing the Vedic religion. Dayanand bowed and vowed "*Tathastu* - so it be."⁵

"This is my *dakshina*." True to his word Dayanand fulfilled his vow to the last breath of his life.

After taking leave of his *guru*, Dayanand came to Agra in April 1863 and stayed here for two years passing most of his time in practising yoga and studying the *Vedas* and *shastras* thus preparing himself for the mission for which he had pledged himself before his *guru* Swami Virjananda.

Dayanand visited almost every part of India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas and from Calcutta to Bombay. He was a man with a powerful intellect and social conscience. He challenged traditional beliefs and rituals. His personality and teachings affected the lives of millions of people.⁶ He denounced evils and vulgarities spread by the vested interests in the name of religion. Vedas in hand he challenged the Hindu orthodoxy to prove if they could justify on their basis polytheism, pantheonism, idol worship, casteism, untouchability, infant marriage, forced widow-hood, *sati*, infanticide and numerous other superstitions degenerating Hinduism. The whole front line and the reserve of orthodoxy came forward to silence him, but Dayanand brought them to their knees.⁷

After socio-religious work of reform in the Hindu society, Dayanand's next concern was to arouse national consciousness among his people. He was, undoubtedly, one of the major figures of India's national resurgence. Some of the writers strongly feel that the events of 1905 in Bengal was a direct impact of Dayanand's teachings.⁸

Throughout his life Dayanand endeavoured to purge the humanity of the prevalent social and religious evils. He was a visionary who looked far ahead of his times and

visualized a society based on social justice, equality of opportunity and political freedom. He was of the view that character of the nation was the real foundation on which the superstructure of political uplift could be built.

He aimed at regeneration of the Indians and through Indians the whole humanity. He tried to expound Truth and to bring the followers of all religions together on one platform. He worked hard to make them free from malice. He generated the feelings of love and worked for their welfare and peaceful world existence.

Although charges are made against him that his attack on other religions had done more harm than good to the Indian society, but researchers in the field have absolved Dayanand of these charges because he never rejected that was good in other religions and never spared Hinduism of its social evils. Dayanand felt that there were learned men in all religions and if they could give up prejudices, accept all these broad principles on which all religions were unanimous, reject differences and behave affectionately towards each other, much good would be done to the world, the miseries of the people would decrease and usher an era of happiness.⁹

Dayanand is often blamed that he criticized the different religions and the different sects of Hindu society. However, his main aim was to criticise only those elements in different religions which led the masses to fight each other. He had no malice or hatred towards any religion; he simply criticized what he thought as untrue (in that religion), and wanted to bring different faiths under the banner of one universal religion. He was of the view that "all these things which are common to all religions obviously condemn false things, for they create differences in different faiths. It is my object to put clearly before public all the secrets and open things of all religions, so that all and sundry may be able to exchange their views and reach some unanimity."¹⁰

Dayanand strove hard to preach universal truth to bring all men under one religion so that they may, by ceasing to hate each other and firmly loving each other, live in peace and work for their common welfare.¹¹

He could not be contented with mere theoretical propositions in this respect and embarked on practical ventures. He invited a conference of the representatives of almost all the religions in India on the occasion of the Delhi *Durbar*, 1877, in which Keshab Chandra Sen, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Munshi Alakhdhari and others participated. Though the conference led at that time to no practical results, yet it served a big purpose; it paved the way for the later religious parliaments and conferences working for peace and happiness of mankind.¹²

It is a strange coincidence that Dayanand was poisoned by a Hindu but was treated by a Muslim doctor, Alimardan Khan. He passed away on October 30, 1883 and cremated at Malusar Cremation Grounds, Ajmer.

"In the matter of Vedic interpretation, I am convinced that whatever may be the final complete interpretation, Dayanand will be honoured as the first discoverer of the right clues. Amidst the chaos and obscurity of old ignorance and age-long misunderstanding his was the eye of direct vision that pierced to the truth and fastened on that which was essential. He has found the keys of the doors that time had closed and rent asunder the seals of imprisoned fountains."

Sri Aurobindo,
Bankim-Tilak-Dayanand,
p. 44.

Dayanand was a widely travelled and well read person. During his life-time he had held many discourses and held many *shastrathas* with the followers of other faiths such as Christians, Muslims, orthodox Hindus and many others; he wrote many books, pamphlets and tracts on religious rituals. His works included around 26 books, besides a number of minor unpublished works, a number of published lectures and reports, and his personal correspondence.

In 1863 he published his first work *Sandhya* (1) after completing his studies with Swami Virjananda. *Bhagavata-Khandanam* (2) was published in 1864 and distributed at the *Kumbha Mela*, Hardwar. It rejected the Bhagavata as *Unarsha* work. *Advaita-mat-Khandanam* (3) denounced the doctrine of non-duality of Shankaracharya's *Advaita*. It was followed by *Satyarth Prakash* (4), which was originally written in Hindi. It has been translated into many Indian and foreign languages. It is divided into two parts, its first part gives rules for a positive life, while the second part analyses the falsities in various religions.

Describing the five *yajnas* to be performed daily, Dayanand published *Panchamahayajna vidhi*. (5)

Veda-Viruddha-mat-Khandnam (6) was originally written in Sanskrit. Shyamji Krishna Varma translated it in Gujarati and Bhimsen into Hindi. This work denounces idol-worship, belief in *avatars*, etc. It refutes the tenets of the Vallabhchari and other Vaishnava sects.

Vedanti-dhwanta-nivarana (7) is available in English also. It gives the meanings and expositions of the four principal aphorisms on which the neo-Vedantists rely to prove the oneness of God and Soul. This study refutes their contention and cites *Brahmans*, *Upanishads*.

Shikshapatri-dhwanta-nivarana (8) came as a reaction to *Shikshapatri* written by the founder of the Swami Narayan sect, *Aryabhivinaya* (9) gives *mantras* from all the four Vedas. It is a book of prayer and is translated in English.

Sanskaravidhi (10) was compiled to help people to perform properly the sixteen rites from conception to death.

Rigvedadi-bhashya-bhumika (11) discusses the origin and subject matter of the Vedas. It was written in Sanskrit and Hindi and is also translated in English.

Bhranti-nivarana (12) is a sample of *Rigveda* commentary.

Aryaddeshya Ratnamala (13) contains definitions and expositions of 100 such terms as one generally comes across in reading Hindu philosophy and Dayanand's works.

Vedabhashya (14) is a monumental work. This helps in understanding the method of Vedic interpretation adopted by Dayanand.

Autobiography (15) was written in Hindi and was published in an English translation in the *Theosophist* issues of October and December 1879 and November 1880. Dr. K.C. Yadav has in 1976 brought about a scholarly and scientific version of it, published by Manohar Book Service, New Delhi.

Ashtadhyayi-Bhashya (16) is a commentary on the famous grammarian Panini's *Ashtadhyayi*.

Gotama-Ahalya ki Katha (17) is a re-interpretation of the legend of Gotama-Ahalya, quite different from the versions available in the *Puranas*.

Sanskrit vakya Prabodh (18) is an aid to learn and talk in Sanskrit. *Vyavaharbhanu* (19) deals with various popular and everyday topics. These teachings are supported by interesting anecdotes and incidents.

Bhramochchedan (20) is a reply to Raja Shivprasad *Sitar-e-Hind* of Benares's objections to Swamiji's *Rigvedadi-bhashya-bhumika*.

Anubhramochchedan (21) was published as a rebuttal, when Raja Shiva-prasad published an answer to Swamiji's *Bhramochchedan*.

Vedanga Prakash (22) published in 14 parts shows the different ways in which the grammar of the Vedic Sanskrit and that of classical Sanskrit deal with various grammatical matters.

Gokarunanidhi (23) pleads for the protection of cows in particular and other animals in general. It is available in English also.

Some of his important discourses and lectures published are *Shastrartha* (24), *Shastrartha Hugli* (25) published in Bengali; later a Hindi version was published under the title of *Pratima-Pujan-Vichar*. *Poona-Pravachana* (26) was first published in Marathi, later it was translated into Gujarati. Its Hindi version is known as *Upadesh Manjari*. *Shastrartha-Bareilly* (27) was first published under the title *Satya-satya-viveka* in Urdu. *Shastrartha-Ajmer* (28) was published both

in Hindi and Urdu in *Aryadarpan* of Ajmer. *Shastrartha-Masuda* (29) was published in *Desh-Hitaishi* of Ajmer. *Shastrartha-Udaipur* was published by Pandit Lekhram in his biography of Dayanand.

There are also a number of letters and notices in printed form. Prominent among these are *Rishi Dayananda Ka Patravayavahar* (30), *Rishi Dayanand Saraswati ke Patra aur Vijnapan* (31), *Rishi Dayanand Saraswati Ke Patra aur Vijnapanan ke Parishisht* (32), *Rishi Dayanand ke Patra aur Vijnapan* (33), Vol. I, and *Rishi Dayanand ke Patra aur Vijnapan* (34), Vol. II.

From the study of the life and works of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, it is found that his manner of working was very different. Here was one who did not infuse himself informally into the indeterminate soul of things, but stamped his figure indelibly as in bronze on men and things. Here was one whose formal works are the very children of his spiritual body, children, fair and robust and full of vitality, the image of their creator. Here was one who knew definitely and clearly the work he was sent to do, chose his materials, determined his conditions with a sovereign clairvoyance of the spirit and executed his conception with the puissant mastery of the born worker.

Dayanand seized on all that entered into him, held it in himself, masterfully shaped it there into the form that he saw right and threw it out again into the forms that he saw to be right. That which strikes us in him as militant and aggressive, was a part of his strength of self-definition. He was not only plastic to the great hand of Nature, but asserted his own right and power to use Life and Nature as plastic material.

On the basis of his deep study of the *Vedas*, *Upanishadas* he ridiculed the incompatible tradition that Vedas were merely the mythological and ritual books; he proved that these were the authoritative revelation and inspired Book of Knowledge, the source of all sanctions and standard of all truth.

Dayanand brought back an old Aryan element into the Indian national character.¹³

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Swami Dayanand Saraswati : His Social and Political Ideas

G.D. Shukla

Swamiji was born in 1824 at Morbi in Kathiawad (Gujarat) and belonged to the Samvedi Brahman caste. At an early age of twenty-one, he discarded the wordly life to escape the bondage of married life. He wandered in many places in search of knowledge, light and immortality. He studied Panini and Patanjali under his preceptor, Swami Virajananda Saraswati at Mathura for two to three years. In November 1869, he engaged himself in a mighty 'Shastrartha' with the learned orthodox Hindu Pandits at Banaras. He established the first Arya Samaj at Bombay in 1875 and in 1877 the constitution of the Samaj was finalised at Lahore. In due course of time, a net work of the Samaj spread all over Punjab, United Provinces, Rajputana and Gujarat. He also visited Bengal, Bihar, Bombay and Central Provinces to propagate his new social and political philosophy. He died on October 30, 1883 at Ajmer possibly as a result of poisoning.

Swamiji was a vital force in the present Indian renaissance movement.¹ He was a born fighter against all social evils and injustice. He refused to yield to the authoritarian traditional dictates in the field of religious conscience. He equally overcame the temptations and frowns of the Hindu orthodoxy. He continued his denunciations of the evils of Christianity at the climax of British ascendancy in India. He stood for the sanctity and supremacy of the individual in search of perfect truth and was a great ethical idealist. He was essentially an ascetic, a staunch puritan and heroic fighter for what he considered to be truth.

The essence of Swamiji's teachings lay in the formula, "Back to Vedas."² In its final form, it meant adherence to the *Samhita* portion of the *Vedas*, especially the *Rigveda Samhita*, and rejection of the *Upanishads* whenever they contradicted the *Samhitas*.³ He also rejected the age-old commentaries on the *Samhitas* and offered his own interpretation in his monumental work *Satyaratha Prakash*. The Samaj under him proposed three-dimensional programme of social reconstruction : rejection of traditional social vices like early marriage, illiteracy, custom of veil and Sati, idolworship, untouchability, dowry system, aversion to sea voyage...,⁴ recognition of inter-caste marriage, equal rights for men and women, widow remarriage, reconversion to Hinduism by the process of purification i.e. 'Shuddhi' and propagation and promotion of the gospels of 'Swadeshi', 'India for the Indians' and Communal Unity and Uniformity without any distinction of caste, colour and creed.⁵

Swamiji was the first and foremost social and religious reformer. Though he was not a political philosopher or a politician in the general sense of the term, he occupies

an important place in the development of social and political thinking.⁶ He became the founder of the national tradition which produced great social reformers and political thinkers like Lokamanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Sri Aurobindo, Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Sharddhanand.⁷ He strongly believed that social and religious reforms were essential for modernising Indian society to the tunes of the time. Therefore, he advocated eradication of the rigid caste-system, blind ceremonialism, superstitious practices and meaningless submission to selfish priestly class and insisted on the Communal Unity and Uniformity without any distinction of Caste, Colour and Creed.

Swamiji understood very well that social renovation was essential as well inevitable for political regeneration in the country. And therefore, he put forth a definite set of his social ideas for the realisation of the great goal. (i) He advocated eradication of such social evils like rigid caste-system, blind ceremonialism, superstitious practices and meaningless submission to selfish priestly class. (ii) He preached that sound education together with the observance of celibacy was the pre-requisite of all true education. He recommended the establishment of *Gurukulas*⁸ for all boys and girls on terms of equality so that the young and energetic servants of the motherland would devote their life for the uplift of the society. (iii) He wrote *Satyarth Prakash* in Hindi with a view to make it the 'lingua franca' of India.⁹ (iv) He laid much stress on the use of 'Swadeshi'.¹⁰ It was through his personal persuasion that every body in the state of Jodhapur—from the Maharaja to the peon—used Khadi which was produced in the state itself. He considered it to be the religious duty of every body to use articles of his own country. (v) Similarly, he condemned the practice of untouchability¹¹ as it prevented the untouchables from rising in the social scale. (vi) He also denounced the caste system with its numerous divisions and subdivisions and rigidity as it was harmful to social harmony.¹² (vii) He assigned an honourable place to women¹³ in society as it paved the way for a happy, contented and cultured life in the society. (viii) He pleaded for pursuit of truth¹⁴ in speech, thought and action whatever the circumstance. (ix) Lastly, but not in the least, he wanted to bring about a revolutionary change in the society by throwing open the door of Hinduism to all.¹⁵

Assessing the political ideas of Swamiji, it would be in the fitness of things to aver that he was a great democrat.¹⁶ He upheld the fundamental democratic principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. He also subscribed to the organic view of society and at the same time recognised the value and dignity of the personality of the individual. He firmly believed in the dignity of the individual. Really speaking, his whole programme of social and religious reform has its roots in the desire to free the individual from the authority of the priestly and ruling classes.¹⁷ He held that the state should exercise control over the individual in the interest of society and maintain peace and order as well as the economic well being of the people. Thus, he propounded the concept of welfare state when 'laissez faire' was popular and prominent philosophy in the west.

Swamiji was true to the ancient Indian political tradition which was truly democratic. He was opposed to the concentration of power in a single individual.¹⁸ He advocated equality before law and also the supremacy of the law. He was a democrat as he stood for the individual and for equal rights for all men and women. He put the highest value on human dignity and asserted that the state existed for the sake of the individual and not the individual for the state. He regarded spiritual freedom as the highest good for men and society. At the same time, he equally valued the social aspect of the life of an individual and welcomed the necessity of social control. He gave equal weightage to individual submission to the control of the state for the greatest good of the greatest number.

Swamiji stressed parity among men and sought to give effect to it in various ways. He emphasized merit¹⁹ in each individual and cared not for the criteria of the accident of birth or social status. Thus, he admitted to his institutions the members of all communities irrespective of everything. Thus, the Arya Samaj is open to all where no priest enjoys any superiority or any woman or untouchable is forbidden to study shastras. He further pleaded for granting all the rights essential for good life to all persons irrespective of sex, birth and property. He accorded a high status to women in every walk of life²⁰ i.e. education, marriage, property, profession. He also favoured inter-dining and inter-marriage among the members of different castes. He argued that the physical, intellectual and even spiritual development in the individual had no meaning if it was not guided by the principle of common good and a keen sense of social service.

Swamiji suggested three agencies for exercising social control over individuals viz. the *Rajya Sabha*, the *Dharma Sabha* and the *Vidya Sabha*.²¹ He prescribed the qualities of self-control, truthfulness and learning for the members of the *Rajya Sabha*. He believed that the *Dharma Sabha* should provide background and incentive to the moral and spiritual improvement of the citizens. He desired that the members of the *Dharma Sabha* should inevitably be possessed of qualities of learning, wisdom, purity of life and the spirit of renunciation to invoke purity of character in the society. He also maintained that the *Vidya Sabha* should provide suitable education to all people, which is essential for fruitful harvest of all the efforts of the government for a welfare state. Similarly, he upheld that law is the supreme authority, dispenser of justice and order and protector of the people.²²

Thus, we gather from the above discussion that the political thinking of Swamiji was deeply influenced by his sound knowledge of the *Vedas* and the *Manusmriti*. His political ideas suggest a close relationship between politics and morality. He identifies the political leaders of the state with the spiritual leaders of the community. He subjects the *Rajya Sabha* to the guidance of the *Dharma Sabha*. Thereby, he introduced a fresh note in Indian nationalism that the British Government and its manner and method of rule was incapable of meeting the aspirations of the Indian

people. Similarly, his idea of *Chakravarti* rule seems to suggest the rule of righteousness not only in India but also all over the world.

Thus, the social and political ideas of Swamiji brought about a revolutionary change in the social and political set-up in India. He waged ceaseless war against all social and religious evils of the time. Mahatma Gandhiji highly applauded Swamiji's condemnation of untouchability and efforts for purification of Hinduism. Jadunath Sarkar has rightly paid high tribute to the work of Arya Samaj in the broad fields of education, relief of distress, reclamation of backward classes and training in hard work and spiritual scholarship. This was the main characteristic of his social and political ideas that won for Swamiji the honour of being one of the greatest nation-builders of modern India.

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Shuddhi Movement—A Brief Study of its Social Implications

R.K. Ghai

An off-shoot of the reformist zeal of the Hindus to meet the challenge of proselytizing efforts of the Muslims and Christians, the *shuddhi* movement, as is believed by some scholars, originated as a defensive social strategy. The clash between the conservative, authoritarian and rigid Hindu society and culture with the dynamic and progressive Western culture posed a serious threat to the very structure, life-style and mode of thinking of the Hindu society. Consequently, a large number of socio-religious organizations sprang up with a view to revitalize the Hindu society, but it was for Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, who, on the pattern of the Christian missionaries, desired to stem the tide of conversion and he inaugurated the *shuddhi* movement as a defensive mechanism to win back those Hindus who had been converted to other religions for one reason or the other. Also acting as social catalyst the *shuddhi* thus offered to the Arya Samajists the basis for innovations to transform Hinduism into a conversion-religion, institutionally equal to its competitors. But with the advent of the twentieth century, on account of many factors, primarily communal representation in which the numbers mattered most, the *shuddhi* movement received an added impetus and conversions began to be pursued vigorously by the enthusiastic Arya Samajists, leading to serious socio-political implications which is the subject matter of this brief study.

The social implications of the *shuddhi* movement are very complex primarily because this innovation was designed to dissolve hierarchy and rigidity of the caste system; these two features of the Hindu social structure were and still are a fundamental realities of the Indian society for these not only direct a large number of social functions but also are integral parts of the psyche of the Hindus. Therefore, a large number of persons who were converted to Hinduism or were purified from the lower castes to join the higher castes on equal level, experienced difficulties and tensions for they were not readily acceptable for social intercourse or social relations. James Reid Graham, therefore, rightly remarks that *shuddhi* was a departure in the history of Hinduism and *ipso-facto* "consciously or unconsciously represents a significant modification of caste theory."¹ Any innovation of the kind of *shuddhi* movement was bound to cause multi-dimensional social problems.

The nature of the problem under study reveals that the *shuddhi*² symbolized conversion of an individual or a group from one religion to another without the change

in religious or moral or ethical world view, or in other words, without transition from theological to philosophical and finally to intellectual grasp of the new religion. It may, therefore, be accepted that the *shuddhi* is generally a denominational change ritualistically affected, at the most a strategy to counteract the proselytizing propaganda of the Christian missionaries. Moreover, since there was an absence of such a tradition, it is contended that the change was rather superficial affecting only the fringe of the Hindu society. With built-in self-sustaining mechanism with purity-pollution and hierarchical features forming procrustean base, the Hindu society reveals limited adjustive and adaptive qualities.³

Nevertheless, the *shuddhi* movement reveals many complex social implications as it created, contrary to the magnitude of the movement, sharp socio-political reactions from within the Hindu society as well as from without. From within the Hindu society, tensions emerged from the problem of integrating the purified with the caste structure which governed the network of social relations particularly the inter-dining and inter-marriage. Commenting upon this aspect of the problem, Kenneth W. Jones writes.⁴

For being a Hindu was not merely a matter of religious belief, but also of function, and the question of readmission to caste privileges presented Samajists with an immense obstacle to reconversion, let alone outright conversion of non-Hindus.

So rigid and stratified the Hindu society was that even the reformist Arya Samaj experienced schism within its ranks. Though under the influence of reformism, efforts were made to dissolve internal divisions yet, being a reaction to the Christian proselytization, it tended to consolidate the Hindu society against the external danger and in the process the Arya Samaj movement as a whole shed its liberalism and became a vanguard of conservatism.

Complex as the Hindu society was, the response and reaction of the Hindus towards the converts varied from person to person and from group to group, revealing their emotional, psychological and rational, and sometimes a mixed character. In most cases the acceptance of food from the hands of the reconverts at the time of purification irritated many orthodox castemen and at times those who took sweets etc. from them were excommunicated by their orthodox caste brotherhood.⁵ *The Arya Patrika* reports that fifteen "Arya Samajists of Moradabad were outcasted by the members of orthodox community on the offences of drinking Ganges water from Christians who had become Hindus again."⁶ Similarly in Lahore after the purification ceremony of the Rahtias, the Aryas were boycotted socially by the local residents. They were not allowed to take water from the wells. *The Arya Directory* reports that Lala Somnath whose mother died during this period of social boycott had to face this kind of opposition.⁷ In Hoshiarpur when militant Aryas purified members of the *Kabirpanthi*

sect who were sweepers by caste, the lowest of social groups, with the most demeaning of professions, publicly inter-dined with them, the local orthodox society led a movement to outcaste all the Aryas.⁸ The opposition of the Santan Dharam Sabha of Hoshiarpur against the Aryas and their *Chamar* adherents continued as late as 1909 when they succeeded in excommunicating the local Aryas, at least for a while.

Significantly in many cases another difficulty of equal gravity encountered by the reformers was that some members of the Arya Samaj itself were not ready to welcome the purified ones. About the intransigent attitude of some Arya Samajists, *The Arya Patrika* reports:⁹

The Arya Samaj converts Mohammadans and Christians but most of the Arya Samajists are not willing to mix socially. This is really shutting the door of the Arya Samaj practically if not (in) theory.....members of the Samaj are afraid the Hindu Biradri will expel them.

Testifying it, Lajpat Rai observes that most of the Arya Samajists displayed reluctance in having any kind of social intercourse with Alakhdhari who was converted by Swami Dayanand himself and was upto his death a member of the Arya Samaj, Dehra Dun. He further adds, "the prejudice was so strong then...that even Arya *Sanyasis* and missionaries would not take food touched by him."¹⁰ Some Samajists even went so far as to propose that Muslim converts be organized into separate groups, thus eliminating the necessity of adjusting the converts into the existing caste structure.¹¹ Contrary to the original spirit of reforms of Arya Samaj, such suggestions were offered as compromises for avoiding an open schism in the Hindu society. It was primarily due to the fact that the Arya Samaj did not reject completely the caste customs and did not break with their orthodox caste brotherhood.

So pervasive was the influence of the orthodoxy that in the beginning the Arya Samaj adopted Brahminical ritualistic methods to avoid conflict with the orthodoxy.¹² But after having attained confidence, the Arya Samaj evolved its own system¹³ thus making it in accordance with the spirit of the Ten Principles of the Arya Samaj. But the adoption of the new method did not solve the problem of inner social cohesion of the Arya Samaj. The *shuddhi* movement not only divided the Arya Samaj into two groups but the "reluctance of many Aryas to enter into daily social relations with the newly purified"¹⁴ was more serious. The social programme of the *shuddhi* movement had many immediate social implications for those who engaged themselves in this work and also for those who were purified. We have mentioned earlier that there was a reaction from within the Hindu society against those who carried on the work of *shuddhi* and consequently some Arya Samajists were excommunicated to deter them from the *shuddhi* policy. But there has been no determined and organized effort on the part of orthodoxy to stop the *shuddhi* work. Even when the Samaj dispensed with

the orthodox expiatory ceremonies in 1893, the later did not protest against the idea of purification of lower castes or the elevation of the purified ones to caste privileges. It was feared that Hinduism might dwindle in numbers, losing importance both politically and socially due to the mass conversions to other religions. Nonetheless, there was no enthusiasm on the part of orthodoxy to admit them to Hindu society and its privileges on the basis of equality. It was perhaps under the circumstances that the orthodoxy assumed the attitude of toleration. As Census Commissioner reports :¹⁵

The Hindus (orthodox) as a rule assume the attitude of toleration and let the purified or reclaimed people slip into their fold without any protest. The educated Hindu does it and professes that he does so. The Hindus of the old school, illiterate and conservative, at times and in places have opposed the movement bitterly and put the Arya Samajists to great trouble, but in the majority of cases, they have yielded in the end. It would be a sheer act of ingratitude if I were not to acknowledge that much of our success is due to the help and co-operation of the enlightened Hindu public both literate and illiterate.

The orthodoxy on many occasions particularly in the case of Moplahs of Malabar coast where it was very tradition bound and intransigent agreed to cooperate with the Samaj if the latter accepted types of expiation approved by them.

In spite of the lukewarm attitude of the orthodoxy the *shuddhi* movement could not achieve much success. It was primarily due to the rigid caste structure which ritualistically had segmented Indian society into autonomous sub-groups. Even within the Arya Samaj the caste ties were so strong that no amount of reformism could eliminate caste feelings among the Arya Samajists. Though Swami Dayanand had conceived the theory of class by merit instead of by birth yet, as Tara Chand notes, it did not make much headway. He writes:¹⁵

The Arya Samaj condemned the classification of the Hindus on the basis of birth, yet few Arya Samajists had the courage to marry outside their caste.

The rise of *Jat Pat Todak Mandal* (organization for destruction of caste) in Lahor in the year 1922¹⁷ with the help of Arya Bhratri Sabha¹⁸ testifies to this fact. Its objects and programmes further testify that even the Arya Samajists had not broken its ties with their caste customs in spite of their long cooperation for about three decades in the field of *shuddhi* campaign.

In concluding the discussion on the social dimensions of *shuddhi*, one may say that on the whole it did not result in the breakdown of caste division.¹⁹ Where in-

dividuals were purified they had great difficulty in finding a social group to which to belong, and when they were admitted to one it was necessarily one of the old orthodox groups. There was here no hint of a caste society based on qualities, as proposed by Swami Dayanand, nor was there much evidence of any relaxation of food and marriage restrictions to Samajists.²⁰ When groups from the lower strata of society were purified, they retained their old caste of social grouping. The *shuddhi* movement helped them to advance up their caste scale where they found themselves within the pale of respectability and touchability. Whether they received the rights and privileges of social intercourse with the higher castes to any appreciable extent is doubtful,²¹ for the converts continued to be treated by the high caste men as before. Moreover, they were not allowed to mix freely with the caste men except in the gathering of the Arya Samaj. There also they were not allowed to perform the *Hom* ceremony freely. But still the movement was able to remove some of the harshness of untouchability. Thus, although the *shuddhi* movement did not work for the total removal of the caste system, its contribution in lessening the evils of untouchability cannot be overlooked.

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Impact of Arya Samaj on the Artisans of Kumaun Himalayas

M.A. Ansari

This brief paper seeks to analyse the impact of Arya Samaj on socially backward classes of Kumaun region in the Himalayas called as *Doms*. Under the powerful influence of Arya Samaj these people began to throw off their social evils and abuses and also began to assert equality in the fields of education, worship and social customs. This, not un-naturally, invited the opposition of the caste Hindus who for centuries had held them under social and economic subjugation.

The region of Kumaun lies between the Latitudes of 28°-44' and 30°-49' N and Longitudes of 78°-45' and 81°-5'E along the eastern and south-eastern part of the central Himalayas. In the north, the natural waterparting separates it from Tibet, while towards the east the river Kali marks its border with Nepal all along.¹ Towards west lie the Himalayan districts of Chamoli and Pauri Garhwal within Garhwal Division. In the SW and S the region touches the boundary of the districts of Bijnor, Moradabad, Rampur, Bareilly and Pilibhit, the southern extent of the region more or less coinciding with the characteristic artesian conditions of the Tarai. The boundaries for the most part being natural, there appears enough grounds to treat the region as a distinct geographical entity.

The artisans were an important people in the region. In local language they were called *Doms*² and the British continued to call them by this term. Socially they were neglected and exploited. S.D. Pant³, Turner⁴ and Atkinson⁵ throw light on their pitiable poverty and misery.

The Arya Samaj made successful attempts in creating social and political awakening even in inaccessible hilly and backward areas such as Kumaun Garhwal.⁶ In 1874 Swami Dayanand practiced 'Yoga' in Chandivan of Haridwar and went on an Himalayan tour. Dayanand also visited Ramnagar (Dhikuli), Bhawra area of Kumaun.⁸ Earlier, the Christian missionaries had penetrated into this region. They had started converting people into Christianity forcibly. This created resentment against them especially among the educated section. The people, therefore, welcomed the Arya Samaj.⁹

Lala Lajpat Rai of Punjab was the most important personality of Arya Samaj who came to this region. In 1907 he had declared that he would serve the cause of society and the motherland.¹⁰

A famine fell in the region in the closing years of 19th century. In the famine bulletin there was not only description of the heart-rending sufferings of famine stricken people, but also accounts of forcible conversations on the part of Christian missionaries. Several Christian missionaries, over-powered by polluted spirit of *Dharm* propaganda, considered this calamity of nature as a 'boon' of God for it provided "famished Indians as the goats of Christ."¹¹

Kumaun and Garhwal also came into the grip of famine. Lala Lajpat Rai did praiseworthy work in relieving the misery of the people. Mukudi Lal, a student of Muir College, Allahabad,¹² also devoted himself in this relief work.

In 1911 Lala Lajpat Rai came to Kumaun and he was extremely sad to see the miserable condition of these persons i.e. artisans. Addressing a public meeting, he said, "It is a great injustice on the part of caste-Hindus to call these dextrous artisans as *Dom*, an abominable name, and tyrannize them. These persons are artisans of a very high grade. Keeping in view their talents they should not be treated like that."¹³

Later he expressed himself against the cruelty of caste Hindus on the down-trodden. He said, "Today, the question is this that, we Hindus, by keeping aside superiority and vanity of our caste, are ready to bound these poor brothers in whose veins our blood is circulating in the embrace of our brotherhood and to build up power for ourselves, or we are going to let them convert into another religion. It is a fact that Muslims and Christians are anxious for their salvation by taking them into their religion So, those Hindus who have firm faith in Hinduism and whose conscience is moved for Hindu religion, they should give top priority to this problem in every Hindu reforming programme and devote their power and money for its solution."¹⁴

In 1907-08 Khushi Ram came into contact with Ram Prasad, the preacher of Arya Samaj. Khushi Ram was impressed by him and his teachings. In 1908 Khushi Ram organised an association of 20 persons which chalked out a plan and a programme for removing evil customs among the artisans. However, this task was not easy. The people were inert and apathetic. Long subjugation had rendered them unfit for a long struggle. Khushi Ram toured the whole Kumaun. He went from door to door and inspired the people by his personal courage and example. Steadily, more and more people began to come under his influence.¹⁵

The work done by the Arya Samaj in this part of Uttar Pradesh for the upliftment of the untouchables is significant. Through writings and speeches the Arya Samaj leaders impressed upon the people to give up the feeling of high and low.¹⁶

Babu Ram Prasad inspired these artisans with the teachings of *Vedic Dharm*. An association was organised which worked for abolishing meat eating, gambling, wine-drinking, adultery and other evils prevailing in the society.¹⁷ The low-caste

people always tried their best to absorb the traditions and behaviour of high castes.¹⁸ Various non-Brahmin castes adopted the traditions belonging to Brahmins, for it was believed that a low caste becomes high in the duration of one or two generation by giving up wine-drinking, and by adopting vegetarianism and their *Karm-Kand* and *Dev-Kul*.¹⁹ In Kumaun region these classes were not allowed to wear *Janayu*. Later, however, some of them were given "*teen pallay ka janayu*".²⁰ By the efforts of Lala Chandra Lal Shah, advocate, Lala Indra Lal Shah, Lala Chiranji Lal Shah and Hari-Krishana Tamta, Lala Lajpat Rai came to Sunkiya village on 17th August, 1913.²¹ Here the first *Janayu* ceremony of Arya Samaj was held in the presence of Lala Lajpat Rai.²²

Lala Lajpat Rai proposed to start 5 schools in the region and promised to grant half the economic aid from his own pocket.

The news of Sunkiya village *Janayu* wearing ceremony spread all over Kumaun.²⁴ The teachings of Arya Samaj of equality and social justice appealed to the people. The number of Arya Samajis began to increase.²⁵ However, the caste-Hindus strongly opposed these activities of the Arya Samaj. Many of them treated the artisans cruelly, deprived them of employment, their *Yaggo-paveets* were broken and workers of the Arya Samaj were beaten up.²⁶ A person named Dhani Ram and his wife were beaten up.²⁷

In protest against these cruelties the artisans wrote a letter to Rai Bhadur Pandit Tara-Dutta Garola, the Chairman of *Kumaun Parishad*. They informed him that the artisans were badly beaten when called to their houses deceitfully. Their painted foreheads with *chandan* were crushed by boots, their *Janayu* smashed. At times their women were dishonoured. The artisans were ejected from their parental land which was the only means of their livelihood. Threats, violence and intimidation were used to stop the spread of Arya Samaj.²⁸

In a meeting of the *Kumaun Parishad*, Pandit Garola told the Aryas that they should not be discouraged by these "tyrannies". He also appealed to the caste Hindus to treat these people well.²⁹

In 1919, Raja Moti Chandra of Banaras came to Almora. A school (*pathshala*) was started in Almora Badakhole (the colony of the *shudras*) for improving the condition of artisans. They began to call Badakhola as Rajpur.³⁰ The Arya Samaj paid great attention to the *Shuddhi* i.e. those Hindus who, by force or temptation, had become Muslims or Christians were welcomed in the fold of Hinduism.³¹ The Raja of Banaras performed *Shuddhi* ceremony in respect of these artisans.³² A school had been established by the Christians at Rajpur with a view to propagate Christianity. The workers of Arya Samaj also started a night school and here two teachers were appointed.³³ The weekly *Shakti* mentioned that the teaching was done at night for two hours at Rajpur and religious education was also imparted.³⁴

A worker of Arya Samaj, an artisan, named Gasai Ram was accused of feeding a Brahman. He appeared in the Court at Nainital on 19th October, 1919, and he was fined Rs. 30/- by the Judge.³⁵

On 3rd January 1920, 34 artisans were initiated in Vedic religion in Nandaily (Nainital).³⁶ But in Mukteshwar (Nainital) in 1920 the artisans were not allowed to perform *Shuddhi*.³⁷ The artisans of Bhatila village (Almora) arranged a big function to perform *Shuddhi*. Khushi Ram presided over this function. The caste-Hindus opposed *Yaggo paveet* ceremony for nearly 26 days. They shouted slogans on the night of 21st June, they took out a procession carrying torches against the Aryas. And on 22nd June, the British Government having received information, interfered. It was only then that on 23rd June Kishan Ram and his brother Madan Ram of Bhatila village wore *Yago Paveet*.

Similar events happened in Bhawar Nabua, Batal-Ghat, Tarari, Barkinda and Billakh villages. The artisans were badly beaten up and their houses were also burnt to ashes. Khushi Ram presented a youth whose feet were charred by some people for wearing *Janayu*. In the meeting of artisans in Tamta colony in Almora in 1925, where Pandit Badri Dutt Pandey and Pastor Rawat were also present, Khushi Ram, the president of the meeting said, "It is foolishness to think that the *Janayu* is a symbol of being great. But the question is that this body is ours, this forehead is ours; then, why do others mock at us? Others have no right on our body and forehead. You should no longer believe yourselves to be feeble. Be optimist. Courage comes from within and not from outside."³⁸

Khushi Ram went on struggling continually. Hari Prasad Tamta filed certain cases in the court against the cruelties on the artisans.³⁹ In 1923 Lala Lajpat Rai expressed his grief over these sad events in one of his letters.⁴⁰

Dayanand had taught equality of human beings. He spoke bitterly against the caste system and he strove to improve the conditions of socially inferior castes. In Kumaun the artisans were not only insulted by being called as *dom*, they were not allowed to dress or live like caste Hindus. They were not allowed to add "Ram", "Prasad" or "Arya" after their names. The Arya Samaj exhorted them to use these words hitherto monopolised by the caste Hindus. The result was that the artisans of the hilly areas began to use words such as 'Ram' 'Singh' and 'Anand' etc. ⁴¹They also adopted names such as Ved Parkash, Om Parkash etc.⁴²

In hilly areas *Dola* and *Palki* were used to take the bride and bride-groom respectively after the marriage ceremony. However, only high castes could use these, and not the down-trodden. The *doms* not only made *Dola* and *Palki* for them but they were also forcibly employed to carry them on their shoulders and they were not permitted to use these carriages for their own marriages.

Now, under the influence of Arya Samaj and with a view to assert their social equality, they began to take their brides, and bridegrooms in *Dola* and *Palki*. The caste Hindus, especially the Brahmins and Rajputs, could not tolerate this. They at times used force to prevent the use of *Dola* and *Palki* on the part of the artisans.⁴³

Two social reformers of the region namely Ramesh Chandra Bahukhandi and Jai Nand Bharti came to Mahatma Gandhi in connection with this problem. They narrated the sorrowful events regarding the cruelties of caste-Hindus on them. Gandhi ji felt hurt. He said that the persons of such an area where Harijans were oppressed so much had no right to offer 'Satyagrah'. He strongly said that the British Garhwal would have to relieve the Harijans of the agonies as regards *Dola* and *Palki*,⁴⁴ before they are allowed to start individual 'Satyagrah' once more in Garhwal. On 25th June, 1941 Gandhiji banned individual 'Satyagrah' in British Garhwal.⁴⁵ On 23rd February 1941 a meeting was held at Landsdowne. A resolution was passed allowing the artisans to use *Dola* and *Palki*.⁴⁶

This resolution, however, remained on paper only. The restriction on the use of *Dola* and *Palki* continued as before. On 11th February 1942, *Samta* wrote that in the villages of Almora the Thakurs beat up the members of a marriage party of artisans and that they were rescued with the help of police.⁴⁷ Similarly, on 20th November, 1940 the marriage party of Ganga Ram of Moza Minar Jamoli Talla Dhora was detained.⁴⁸ In 1943 the marriage party of Bacchi Ram suffered a similar fate.⁴⁹ Pandit Ved Vrat Dutt was beaten up and Brahmchari Balak Ram was tied with the rope and his flag with 'Om' inscribed on it was snatched. Baldev Singh Arya, Secretary of Harijan Sevak Samaj, expressed his grief over these incidents.⁵⁰ In 1946 Gandhiji once again appealed to the people to stop oppression of the Harijans.⁵¹ In 1946 when Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru came on tour in Garhwal region he also criticised these methods of the Hindus.⁵²

Dr. Hira Singh Bhakuni⁵³ in his thesis "Badri-Dutt Pandey; Ek Addhiyan", said that when in Garhwal caste Hindus were opposed to the marriage parties of the artisans in regard to *Dola*, *Palki* movement, sympathy and leniency were being shown in favour of the artisans in Almora. However, this statement is not true.

There was yet another evil in the region. The girls of the *Nayaks* in Kumaun-Garhwal earned their livelihood through prostitution.⁵⁴ In 1927, the weekly *Kumau Kumud* calculated the number of such girls to be about 3055 and added that these *Nayaks* lived in about 56 villages.⁵⁵ With the spread of Arya Samaj and with a view to uplift the fallen women, a campaign was inaugurated to remove this evil.⁵⁶ The followers of Arya Samaj held meetings and exhorted the *Nayaks* not to allow their daughters to indulge in this practice. Instead they should try to marry off their daughters. The prominent social workers in this field were Dr. Shyam Swarup Satya Vrit,

Maharshi Gajdhar Prasad and Ram Prasad.⁵⁷ In addition to these, Heera Devi from Kumaun and Janki Devi from Garhwal made tireless efforts in order to abolish this evil.

The Harijans of this hilly region used to worship local deities, perform sacrifices of animals and birds, indulge in eating of the meat of animals, and they lived in dirt and filth. Under the influence of Arya Samaj there was a visible improvement in the lives of these backward people.⁵⁸

Like other parts of the country, the workers of Arya Samaj also built their temples in various parts of this region. The first Arya Samaj was established in Nainital.⁵⁹ Later the Arya Samajs were established at Ramnagar in 1904, Almora 1916, Ramgarh, 1919, Kashipur, 1931 and Ranikhet in 1932.⁶⁰

Swami Dayanand paid the highest attention to education, especially female education. He was of the view that if men were given good education, they would lead good lives.⁶¹ The Arya Samaj workers established a number of schools in this region.⁶² A Kanya Pathshala was established at Nainital in 1912. A Kanya Pathshala was established at Kashipur in 1945 and one at Ramgarh.⁶³ The work of Arya Samaj in the spread of education in this region is indeed laudable.⁶⁴

To sum up, the influence of Arya Samaj on the lives of these poor and backward people of this region has been significant. It created social awakening in them and a desire to improve their lot. In the remote and almost inaccessible region of Kumaun the Arya Samaj brought a new ray of hope to these people.

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A Critique of Dayanand Saraswati's Philosophy of Education

Om P. Gupta

Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883) was neither an incarnation of Divine Being nor was he a Prophet.¹ He was born as a man, grew up as an intelligent observer of things around him and, finally, emerged as a reformer - the reformer of the existing religious system and social order of the Hindus. He found both the Hindu religion and Hindu society as a decayed body. He studied the Vedas and other scriptures carefully and reached the conclusion that the true Hinduism of the Vedas had mingled with filthy admixtures of polytheism, superstitions and tribal indecencies. The illiterate Hindus and the neglected members of the Hindu society having been allured and seduced by the equality of social status and the simplicity of the cardinal tenets of the rival faiths were embracing Islam or Christianity.² Dayanand, thus, was to undertake a double task to set up a reformed Hindu religion and to check the conversions. He proclaimed that 'the Vedas contain all the truth', and urged the Hindus to go back to the Vedas'.³ To tone up the dried-up muscles of the Hindu society, he invented a 'novel tit' for the 'traditional tat' of the persecutors and aggressors. His novel tit found an expression in his *Shuddhi* campaign. Through *Shuddhi* (purification) a man converted into a Christian or Muslim could reenter into the Hindu fold with due dignity and honour.⁴ But mere religious reforms were not his ultimate aim. His missionary zeal also aimed at a reformed Hindu society free from all socio-economic and religio-cultural degenerations, and healed from mental and spiritual morbidities. To execute his ideology, aims, and ideals, he founded Arya Samaj.⁵ Finding a similarity in the mission of Swami Dayanand and that of Karl Marx, R.A. Prasad remarks :

He was born only six years after the birth of Karl Marx and died in the year of the death of latter i.e. 1883. While Karl Marx devoted himself to the analysis and solution of the socio-economic maladies flowing from the machine-age-Capitalism, Dayanand devoted himself to the socio-economic as well as the spiritual depravity of a social order flowing from the orthodox beliefs of a society from within and imperial exploitation from without.⁶

Being compelled by a grim urgency of social reforms, Swami Dayanand very seriously thought about the reorientation of the existing educational system. To him, the impact of western education through the medium of English on the Indians was

not only dangerous but injurious also. In the name of liberal thought, the gospel of the Bible was being poured into the teen-aged taughts. The love for the mother-land was fast disappearing. Swami Dayanand was not conservative in his outlook. He favoured contact with the foreigners. In his *Satyartha Prakasha* he logically advocated sea-voyage and foreign-travels for he saw good in them. He argues :

Those people who do not hesitate to go to other countries, come in contact with various people, know their customs and manners, expand their kingdom and business, acquire boldness, imbibe their merits, shake off their own weakness, thus become powerful.⁷

But he allowed this concession with a condition that there should be 'no loss of religion in intercourse with persons of foreign countries.'⁸

To create a new Hindu society with a reformed Hindu religion, a new educational system based on the Vedic institutions was immediately wanted. Like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayanand was not ready to make a compromise with any alien ideology.⁹ The crown source of his educational philosophy which he summarized in his *Satyartha Prakasha* was the Vedic literature comprising *Rigveda*, *Manusmrti*, *Yogavasistha*, *Nyaya Sutra* and others.

Education, according to Swami Dayanand, was the chief source of ornamentation of soul.¹⁰ Only education shows the man the path of righteousness.¹¹ The sublime pleasure of man lies in the pursuit of knowledge, because it helps him to form good habits and leads to obey the principles of truthfulness.¹² It inspires man to do good to others.¹³

Dayanand's concept of education was not a worn-out creed. True education is a means to enlighten the soul. It removes the fog of ignorance over the minds of men. The latest thought on the aim of education as subscribed by Prof. T.W. Moore is consistent with the above aims of Swami Dayanand. T.W. Moore writes :

The aim of education is to produce an educated man, one who meets the various criteria of intellectual, moral and aesthetic development.¹⁴

The educated man needs to be a good citizen, a good worker, a good colleague, and being educated should be a great help in achieving the worthwhile external ends.¹⁵

The age for the admission in the schools both for boys and girls is determined as eight years.¹⁶ For the boys the schooling (*Brahamcharya*) is to be continued upto the age of 25, and, normally, for the girls, it is prescribed as 16.¹⁷ Those who are

prepared to renounce the married life (*Grasthashrama*) may keep process of learning even upto the age of 48.¹⁸

The initiation of a child to the school (the *Ashrama* or *Gurukula*) is marked by the ceremony of the Sacred-Thread-Wearing.¹⁹ This ceremony symbolizes the membership of the student with the preceptor's family (*Acharyakula*).²⁰ The recitation of the Gayatri Mantra (OM BHUR BHUVAH SVAH ! TAT SAVITUR VARENYAM BHARGO DEVASYA DHIMAH, DHIYO YO NAH PRACHODAYAT – Yajurveda, XXXVI.3)²¹ marks the beginning of the teaching which is followed by the *Pranayama* (Breathing exercise);²² *Sandhyopasna*²³ (Daily Prayers) and *Devayajna* comprising *Agnihotra*²⁴ – all within prescribed manner.

Though the above ceremonies are essentially the parts of the ancient Vedic rites and rituals, yet are an essential part of training and education.

According to Dayanand Saraswati there are eight different sources of knowledge – intuition (*Pratyaksa*); inference (*Anumana*); comparison (*Upamana*); verbal knowledge (*Shabda*); tradition (*Aitihya*); presumption (*Arthapatti*); probability (*Sambhava*); and negation (*Abhava*).²⁵ The course of studies consist of the study of six systems of Indian philosophy; the four Vedas; the four Brahmanas; Vedangas; Upangas, Up-Vedas; (Ayur Veda, Dhanur Veda, Gandharva Veda and Arth Veda); the books of grammar (Chandrika, Kaumudi, Shekhara, Manorama etc.); the lexicons; the prosody; the orthography; the astronomy; the poetry; the Smritis and the medicine.²⁶ The tantrik literature, the *Puranas*, Hindi Ramayana of Tulsidas and the *Rukamani-mangala* were proscribed.²⁷ These books are said to have more untruth than the truth, and, therefore, are to be abandoned like poisoned food.²⁸

The above course of study is to be completed upto the age of 21.²⁹ No vacation or holiday is allowed during schooling.³⁰

A cursory glance at the above shall certainly compell one to think that Swami Dayanand's philosophy of education and his suggested system of education contained only ancient Vedic religious wine but in a new bottle with a label of Satyarth Prakasha. But we should not forget that religion is the only inspiring force to mould our socio-cultural ideologies. As the prime aim of the education is to change the homosapiens into homo maralis, the moral teachings can only be derived from religion. The seers and the philosophers in all ancient as well as medieval times considered religion as the only remedy against social and religious maladies. Education has always been the sister of the religion.³¹ Even present-day educationist believes in the force of moral and religious teachings. T.W. Moore remarks :

Moral and religious teachings are essential to education;
education is not really possible with out them.³²

Children are not born moral; they have to be made so.³³

In order to inaugurate the neotimatic age (the age of the new value), Dayanand Saraswati urged to shape the educational system in accordance with the Vedic religion. His application of religion with the system of education does not mean than it was one sided. He, actually, 'was engaged in adapting Hinduism to the social political, economic and cultural needs of Indian nation'.³⁴ The religious foundation of education is highly appreciated by the most modern thinkers of the west. T.W. Moore admits :

Religion may, and almost does, provide a powerful sanction for moral action when the agent subscribes to the religious belief.³⁵

William Kay stressing on the need of religio-moral education writes that the moral education is of two dimensions—that of ethics and that of morality. The former is concerned with religious and moral theories and techniques for making valid moral judgements, and the latter is concerned with actual conduct.³⁶

Thus Swami Dayanand's philosophy of education based upon religion should not be taken as a communal approach to the problem of education. If the religious basis of the education is to be named as communalism in education, then all the primary schools—the convents, *maqtabs*, *madrasas* and *pathshalas* should be denounced as base-camps of communal education. Dayanand's approach may better be lined with the 'Platonic Idealism' and 'the Religious Idealism' of Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274). According to Plato, "man should concern himself primarily with the search of truth. Since truth is perfect and eternal, it can not be found in the world of matter."³⁷ The propounder of 'religious idealism' Thomas Aquinas viewed "theology as primary concern and philosophy as the 'handmaid' of theology. He believed proper education is one that fully recognizes the spiritual and material nature of man."³⁸

According to Swami Dayanand, schools alone can not fulfil the sacred aim of imparting education to children. Prior to school, the family or the parents should play a vital role in the education of their children. Regarding the parental obligations towards the education of the children, Dayanand proclaims :

In fact, a man becomes learned when he has three proper instructors—the mother, the father and the preceptors. Blessed is that family, and most fortunate is that child whose mother and father are equipped with righteousness and learning.³⁹ The parents should inculcate in the children the habit of self-restraint, love of learning and good company.⁴⁰ Those parents are perfect enemies of their children who do not give them education.⁴¹

Swami Dayanand's formula of two fold educational system is of vital significance. The role of the family or parents in educating their children has also engaged the attention of the western educationists. The book—*Moral Education*--of William Kay has very seriously discussed the importance and the role of both the institutions. F. Musgrove, an American educationist, has seriously observed the degeneration of the institution of family. He observes :

Family has no longer an educational function of any kind. Industrial, social and educational development have usurped the functions of the family. From the 19th century onwards the family abdicated its educative responsibilities.⁴²

Therefore, because of the abdication of educative responsibilities by the family, western philosophers of education have strongly stressed on the need that the schools should play the role of the parents. William Kay suggests :

Teachers must become parental in their roles and schools should be familial in their structure. The parentalism of the teacher and the familial structure of the schools should reflect the qualities of an ideal parent and family.⁴³

Under the light of the above, Dayanand championed the importance of the educative obligations of the family much before.

Next, the introduction of the *Ashramas* or the *Gurukulas*, the ancient Vedic schools, is also of great significance. According to Swami Dayanand, "The place of study should be secluded."⁴⁴ And "towns and cities should be at least four *Kose* (about eight miles) away from these seminaries".⁴⁵ This system of schooling very correctly resembles the modern institution of the Boarding Schools. Bertrand Russell's discourse on the importance and benefits of the boarding schools strengthens the aims and objectives of the *Ashramas* or the *Gurukulas*. He writes :

In case of the people who live in big towns, the argument is very powerful in favour of boarding schools. It is obviously better for young people to spend most of their life in the country...they shall not be affected by ultra-violet-light. The illness in the country is low. They are free from nervous strain due to constant noise.⁴⁶

Finally Bertrand Russell argues :

Modern psychologists insist that the excessive influence of father or mother is very harmful thing.⁴⁷

According to Bertrand Russell, "In the education of girls, it is a part of the conflict between the ideal of the 'gentle-woman', and the desire to train girls to be self-supporting. But the whole problem, where women are concerned, has been distorted by the desire for sex-equality; there has been an attempt to acquire the same education as that given to boys..."⁴⁸ Dayanand Saraswati is the first modern thinker who has placed womanhood on an equal footing with that of manhood. He has made no distinction between male and female regarding the acquirement of knowledge. According to the Swami 'education' is not an exclusive privilege of the boys. The same type of schools and the same type of the courses are suggested by him for girls.⁴⁹ If the whole philosophy of Dayanand regarding female education is seriously studied without prejudice, the following remark of a Christian missionary will appear to be unjust. W.E.S. Holland points out :

The first period of the Hindu girls' life is not without its childish joys, and during it she develops a flower-like sweetness that makes her lovable and attractive. But she misses much of that tender care of body, mind and spirit which Christian parents and teachers have learned to bestow during the age of innocence.⁵⁰

Dayanand Saraswati is, undoubtedly, a powerful advocate of the equality of females in the field of education, but he strongly opposes 'Co-education'.

He is a liberal but not too liberal to affect his system with the modern sins. Co-education to him seems full of horrors. Free-mixing of the boys with the girls in educational institutions may give rise to some immoral sins. He advocates total seclusion of girls during their schooling. In *Satyartha Prakasha*, he writes :

The girls' and boys' schools ought to be two kosas (about four miles) apart, the teachers, servants and menials should all be females in girls' schools.....Nobody of five years' age should be allowed to enter a girl's school, nor a girl of that age in the boys' schools.... As long as they are Brahamcharis (male students) and Brahmcharinis (female students) they should keep themselves aloof from eight kind of sensualities—looking at the person of opposite sex, contactual relation, private meeting, conversation, love-story-telling, inter-course, contemplation of a tempting object or company.⁵¹

The modern men may condemn the above as thoughts of an impractical idealist. The liberal thinkers may take the Swami to be a conservative and orthodox. But this is what he thought to be the best for society.

Modern researchers in the field of co-education have also found fault with it. Franklin Parker gives his conclusion as follows :

Traditional sex roles began to peel away.....use of birth control pills, living together without marriage, births out of wedlock and abortion are common. Young people have accepted sex pleasure and not procreation.⁵²

Some researches in Europe also speak in favour of separate-education; they oppose co-education. Lita Linzer writes :

It seems appropriate to mention that girls, at secondary and college levels, often welcome attendance at an all female school. When a male teacher has led even a kinder-garten class comprised only of all boys, such a group has learned more satisfactorily than other classes (all boy classes with a female teacher) in the same school.⁵³

Writing on the adverse effects of co-education, the author comments:

The girls may also develop distorted attitudes towards-themselves and towards learning.⁵⁴

Thus, Dayanand Saraswati's thoughts on female education and especially on the seclusion of the girls from boys during the age of schooling need special study and consideration. Their application in our present educational system will certainly yield some good results.

Dayanand Saraswati's philosophy of education, though, deriving its strength from the religious scriptures of the Vedic people, yet has been presented with practical modifications to meet the needs of the modern Hindu society. As his system pertains only to a particular religion and society, so it can not be called a philosophy of secular educational system. He, beyond all, wanted to produce educated Hindu men and women, physically strong and mentally sound, conscious of their religion, culture and country. His philosophy has, certainly, some elements of militancy but this was due to circumstances under which it was evolved. Swami Dayanand had felt strongly that the Hindu society was being attacked by rival faiths and cultures. He, under those circumstances, wished to "create Prometheus with a courage to steal fire from heaven and not a shy and tender Adonis." He wanted to produce women of virtue and courage.

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1. The fanatic followers of Dayanand Saraswati venerating his glossy close-ups and garlanding his statues may feel ill by the remark. However, it can not be denied that the great Swami never wished to have himself worshipped like an idol, nor desired to have been revered as a Prophet. He founded Arya Samaj to expedite his mission in a systematic manner. He never wanted to change his organization into a sect or Panth. He never thought that his ardent followers would be turned into a distinctive sect.

2. The growth of Christian population in India may be guessed from the following statistics:

Years of Census	Total persons professing Christianity in India	Increased percentage of Indian Christians in a decade.
1881	1,862,639	22%
1891	2,275,450	34%

In 1871 in North of Madras there were 19,000 Christians and by 1911, their number had grown into 342,000.

In 1891, out of every 10,000 of the population of India, there were on an average, 7,232 Hindus and 1,996 Muslims. In 1901, the Muslims had grown to 2,122. Rev. W.E.S. Holland: *The Goal of India*, the Christian Society of India, Madras, 1919, pp. 149-51.

3. Fifth Sermon delivered on July 13, 1875 by S. Dayanand in Gujrat, Lectures published by Ram Tirth Bhatia, New Delhi, 1976, pp. 37-38.

Dr. Griswold has compared S. Dayanand with Luther, the great German Protestant reformer (1483-1546) whose watchword was 'back to the Bible'.

4. The Shuddhi is called as a highly militant campaign.
5. The first Arya Samaj was founded at Bombay on April 10, 1875, Lala Rajpat Rai, *The Arya Samaj* London, 1915, p. 52. To D. S. Sharma, the Arya Samaj is the Church militant in the Hindu fold. It is also a true expression of the militant personality of its founder, *The Arya Samaj*, Bombay, 1967, p. 101. According to A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Oxford, 1948, pp. 267-68, "The Arya Samaj had two aspects, one progressive and other reactionary. When it attacked religious superstitions and sacerdotal dictatorship of the Brahmins, when it denounced the polytheism, when it adopted the programme of mass education, of elimination of sub castes, of equality of men and women, it played progressive role. But when it stood for the division of the society into four castes based on merit, it was playing quasi-progressive role...". The ascendancy of the Arya Samaj in Punjab reinforced the aggressive Hindu image and strengthened the Muslim suspicion"—K.W. Jones; *Communalism In Punjab: The Arya Samaj Contribution*; *Journal of Asian Studies*. Vol. 27, Nov, 1968 p. 59.

6. R.A. Prasad : *Socialist Thought in Modern India*, Meerut, 1974, p. 382.
7. *The Light of Truth* (English Translation of Swami Dayanand's *Satyartha Prakasha* by Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya, Allahabad, 2nd. Edn. 1981) 10:8 p. 325.
8. *Ibid* , 10:8 p. 325.
9. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's study of the three main religions of the world convinced him of his favourite doctrine, which found expression in his *Tuhfatul-Muwahidi*, M C Kotnala : *Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Indian Awakening*, Bombay, 1975, p. 77.
10. *The Light of Truth*, 3:1 p. 50.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
12. *Ibid* , p. 50.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
14. T.W. Moore : *Philosophy of Education*, 1982, p. 28
15. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
16. *The Light of Truth*, 3:1 p. 50
17. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

According to S. Dayanand, it is the compulsory duty of the parents to send their children to schools after the age of 5 or 8. If they do not fulfil this obligation, they should be penalized by the state under the law—*The Light of Truth*; 3:6 p. 52 & 3:101 p. 101.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-9.
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29. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
31. Muslim education has always been the handmaid of religion. "For centuries, the Christian church was the creator and protector of schools". Howard A. Ozmon and Samuel M. Craver, *Philosophical Foundations of Education*; USA, 2nd Edn. 1976, p. 8.
32. T.W. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
34. A.R. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 258.
35. T.W. Moore, *op. cit.*, 107.
36. William Kay, *Moral Education*, London, 1975 p. 328.
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38. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.
39. *The Light of Truth*; 2:1 p. 38.
40. *Ibid.*, 2:7, p. 40.
41. *Ibid.*, 2:21, p. 49.
42. F. Musgrove : *The Family, Education and Society*, USA, 1966, p. 182.
43. William Kay, *Ibid.*, p. 191.
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45. *Ibid.*, 3:5, p. 51.
46. Bertrand Russell : *On Education*, London, 5th Edn. 1966, p. 158.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
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49. *The Light of Truth*, *Ibid.*, p. 72.
50. W.E.S. Holland. *op. cit.*, p. 71.
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Swami Dayanand and Indo-Anglian Fiction : A Study of Mulk Raj Anand's 'Untouchable'

Manmohan K. Bhatnagar

The inextricable link between art and the environment wherein it is created can never be over-emphasised. Art is, and always has been, a social activity in reality. It is one aspect of the cultural super-structure which has its foundations in the philosophic, sociological, economic and political patterns of the time. It throws into bold relief those conscious and unconscious urges of a society which are seeking gratification in the world of physical reality. "Art has never been on the side of the purists".¹ Good writers are, as Walter Allen puts it, "mediumistic to the deeper stirrings of life of their time, while they are still unknown to, or at any rate, unsuspected by the public, politicians and current received opinion."² The view holds validity in case of Indo-Anglian fiction to a degree hitherto not recognized.

The nineteen thirties is taken to be a very convenient starting point for Indo-Anglian fiction by most critics for it marked the publication of the first novels by 'the big three' : Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable* (1935), R.K. Narayan's *Swami and Friends* (1935) and Raja Rao's *Kanthapura* (1938). However, a proper study of the nature and scope of Indo-Anglian fiction would necessitate going back to the pre-thirties scenario to take stock of the formative influences which form the clay of which the novel in English in India became a chiselled artifice. We can appreciate and appraise literature better, more completely, "if we know something of the clay out of which the pot was made."⁴

M.K. Naik relates the blossoming of Indo-Anglian fiction to the percolation of freedom consciousness to the very grass-roots of the Indian society with the advent of Gandhi on the Indian horizon.⁵ But it is desirable to remember that the socio-political uprising that Gandhi spearheaded is intrinsically related to and cannot be seen in isolation from the long series of socio-religious movements in the later half of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the twentieth century. It would not be far from truth to assert that the greatest change sought to be brought about by these movements was one from other-worldliness to this-worldliness, from contemplation of and glorying in the hoary past that was India's to pondering over the mess that the nation had become at the moment in all walks of life. This metamorphosis in the mentality of the nation was brought about cumulatively by a number of eminent thinkers working through different fora : The Brahmo-tradition of Raja

the two most important aspects of the novel from this perspective, viz., the severe indictment of the pernicious practice of untouchability and a rebuttal of the neo-Vedantic philosophy of Sankara. These obviously form significant parts of the teachings of Swami Dayanand.

The clearest and the most unambiguous rendering of Swami Dayanand's position as regards the rigid, immobile stratification of society along caste lines is provided by his interpretation of the 11th verse of the 31st chapter of the *Yajurveda* :

ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद् बाहू राजन्यः कुतः ।
 उरु तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पदभ्यां शूद्रोऽजायत ॥

Swami Dayanand rejected the traditional, stock reading that 'the Brahmin is born from the mouth of God, the Kshatriya from His arms, the Vaishya from His thighs and the Shudra from His feet'. Swami Dayanand in a most rational and logical manner expounded the view that, placed in its proper context, the verse means that he who like the mouth in the body of man is the best and the most prominent of all in the creation of the all pervading God is a Brahmin; he who has more strength than others, is a Kshatriya and so on.¹⁵ In Swami Dayanand's vision even though a division of people into different categories was inevitable to facilitate a proper and harmonious functioning of society, such a classification has to be based on the intrinsic merit of each individual rather than on the mere accident of birth. To lend authenticity to his argument, he quoted from Manu, X, 65 :

शूद्रो ब्रह्मणामेति ब्राह्मणश्चेति शूद्रताम् ।
 क्षत्रियाज्जातमेवन्तु विद्याद्वैश्यात्तथैव च ॥

The verse means : If a person born of a Shudra or low caste family possesses the virtues, habits and tendencies of the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas, he should be classed with them according to his merits.¹⁶ Swami Dayanand also referred to some aphorisms of the Apasthamba in this context to present the view that whereas right conduct exalts a man of the lower to the higher order, vicious conduct degrades a man to a lower order.¹⁷

Coming to *Untouchable* after this brief exposition of the Arya Samaj teachings gives one the impression of being on familiar grounds. Anand is the first Indian novelist to have depicted in novel form the stigma of untouchability which isolates man from his own society.¹⁸ The novel lays bare a festering sore of Indian society to which Swami Dayanand had drawn pointed attention. Even though Anand dedicates the book to Mahatma Gandhi,¹⁹ the fact remains that the book had been written *before* the novelist had come in personal contact with Gandhi and had been

influenced by him.²⁰ Anand was at that time in Bloomsbury in England and it was later when he came to India that he had discovered in Gandhi an apotheosis of his own concern with the plight of the untouchables. Incontrovertibly, then, most of *Untouchable* is shaped by the influences Anand had been subjected to prior to his meeting Gandhi and for a discerning reader not to acknowledge the impact of Swami Dayanand would be wilfully ignoring the obvious.

Untouchable is the story of a day in the life of Bakha, a teenaged sweeper boy in a small town in Punjab. By creating an archetypal image of the Untouchable,²¹ Anand portrays an individual's struggle to release himself from the customs and beliefs of the community he belongs to. The novel is a series of socially demeaning and personally painful crises undergone by the protagonist. The hero of the novel is based on a real character who was "physically like a god, played all the games superbly and could recite whole cantos from *Heer Ranjha* of Waris Shah".²² Implicit herein is the tragedy of such a richly endowed person being forced to demean himself. The novel is a powerful indictment of the unthinking and illogical mode of role-determination from which there is no escape. Anand is perfectly conscious of the tragic irony inbuilt in the situation for this otherwise near-perfect human being finds himself a sweeper and consequently he is ill-treated, insulted and humiliated by other all the time because of his low caste. Thus is he called : "Oh Bakhya ! Ohe, Bakhya ! Ohe Scoundrel of a sweeper's son, come and clean a latrine for me."²³

Bakha has a keen desire to read and write but his caste makes it impossible for him to realize his wishes. He yearns, "How nice it must be to be able to read and write" (p. 42). After having been slapped by a 'high-caste' Hindu for having polluted him just because he forgot to announce his coming, he laments, "They think we are mere dirt because we clean their dirt" (p. 56). Finding such a perceptive, intelligent and sensitive person dealt with in a thoroughly inhuman manner certainly implies a much more scathing indictment of the pernicious Hindu practice than would have been a straight-forward, argument-based expose of untouchability. Anand was certainly justified in countering the advice reportedly tendered by Gandhi that a tract on untouchability would be more effective than a fictional rendering of the theme.²⁴ The novel conveys its message effectively enough for here is laid explicitly bare the illogicality, irrationality and inhumanity implicit in the birth-based apportioning of social roles. One almost wishes Bakha's deserts rather than his lineage should have been taken into account before he was confined into the strait-jacket of a role wherefrom he could find no escape. The ideological thrust of Swami Dayanand's teachings could not have been rendered in a more indirect, subtle, human and effective way.

The position Swami Dayanand took vis-a-vis the phenomenal world was equally forthright. That he was deeply concerned with the actual condition of people in society is in itself adequate testimony to the manner wherein Arya Samaj sought to demolish the inherent passivity, acquiescence, evasion and subserviencies implicit in popular Hinduism with its disproportionate other-worldly bias.²⁵ Whatever was apprehended through the senses was deemed illusory and false. It was believed that nothing exists but God. He is all in all. The great medieval commentator on the *Upanishads*, Sankara, is credited with this view of reality.

Sankara's Vedanta is a ruthless monism—spiritual monism, as one commentator of *Satyarth Prakash* would term it²⁶—which sees everything as illusory except Brahman, the 'only reality'. Brahman, the Reality behind the apparent Universe, is also the God in everything that appears to be on earth and in the universe at large. He is changeless, timeless and therefore the passing show of phenomenal life, including successive rebirths is a total illusion born of imperfect understanding (*adhyaropa/adhyasa*). Such imperfect knowledge seems in Sankara's system to be the equivalent of what Christians call the 'fallen', sinful condition of man's life. Salvation (*moksha*) comes from the realization of the absolutely illusory and futile nature of all separate existences.²⁷

Swami Dayanand was unequivocal in his denunciation of this ideology which negated all that an individual was directly and immediately confronted with. Calling the school of Sankara 'Neo-Vedantins', he rationally and systematically demolished their convictions :

It cannot be said that what is properly perceived is illusory... the [Neo-Vedantins believe in] the creation of the world from the Supreme Being (Brahman). Well, the Supreme Being or Brahman being eternal, its effect or product cannot be impermanent or illusory. It is untenable to assert that the world is unreal and suppositional like a dream²⁸

Untouchable performs artistically the same job of refutation of those who scoff at what is real. And Anand is as subtle, indirect and effective in the coalescing of the ideological with the human here as he had been in his treatment of the theme of untouchability. The attack on Sankara is launched by Iqbal Nath Sarshar, a poet who is one of the three important characters who show the protagonist, Bakha, a way out of his dilemma. Sarshar criticizes Sankaracharya for his distortion of Vedic truth. He also blames both Indians and Westerners who, following Sankara, distort the real 'message' of the ancient Indian sages.²⁹

'We have throughout our long history, been realists, believing in the stuff of this world, in the here and now, in the flesh and the blood. Man is born and reborn, according to the *Upnishads* in his world .. We don't believe in the other world, as these Europeans would have you believe you do... (p. 168).

What is much more significant is the manner wherein this philosophization and abstraction of reality is blamed by Anand's poet for the evasiveness, statusquoism and fatalism of Indians. It is this which has plunged the nation allegedly into casteism and poverty and made people easy prey for the more virile and less ideologically handicapped European nations. Consequently Bakha is to strive to release himself from the stifling yoke of pernicious social practices rather than passively accepting his *karma* and *Maya*. It is by fixing one's gaze at what lies immediately close at hand and by endeavouring to ameliorate one's condition by conscious effort, by technical innovation, by real application of body and soul that one can honour fully the 'Brahman' in one.

One who follows the plight of Bakha, presented in all surrealistic detail, is not surely going to deem it an illusion. The novelist wields his pen conscious of the purpose he is committed to. It is to awaken people to the here and now so that they may build their own lives brick-by-brick themselves rather than acquiesce in whatever is meted to them as their fate. Such an electrifying creed which would make one active in the social and the political arena is precisely what Swami Dayananda had preached through the Arya Samaj. One cannot help quoting what E.M. Forster put so nicely and effectively: "Mr. Anand stands in the ideal position... He has just the right mixture of insight and detachment."³⁰ "Avoiding rhetoric and circumlocution, it (the novel) has gone straight to the heart of its subject..."³¹ That could very well serve as the recipe for ideologically committed art.

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Swami Dayanand and Christian Missionaries

Shiv Kumar Gupta

By the time Swami Dayanand embarked on his public life, Christianity had taken great strides in India. The country was dotted with Christian schools and colleges and covered with a net-work of Christian agencies. "British Government during the period under review, freed from nervous scruples about its association with the Christian faith, offered a fair field and all necessary protection and opportunities for mission work."¹ The first reaction of the impact of the west and of Christianity on Hinduism was defensive. The educated classes especially in Bengal felt the need for reform and acceptance of new ideas within the framework of Hindu philosophy. The Brahmo Samaj of Ram Mohan Roy is the outstanding example of this reaction. "More significant as a genuine reaction to outside pressure was from Arya Samaj."² Dayanand's was the first effort, after centuries of abject passivity, to take the offensive against the Christian missions and others who had been battering the vulnerable outskirts of Hinduism. Other reformers had been on the defensive and more or less apologetic in their defence of Hinduism.

An estimate of the missionary work must take into account its dual character—reformatory and evangelical. On the reformatory side important fields were education, social work and medical relief; on the evangelical side, preaching of the tenets and principles of the Christian religion and delivering polemical onslaughts against Indian religions. Even in education, the real object was never lost sight of. For it was believed that "every teacher whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian, when teaching science and mathematics, is breaking to pieces with a rod of iron the earthenware vessels of Hinduism."³ J.P. Leonard, Archbishop of Madurai, expressed :

If we should reveal our intentions without hiding it at all we hold that Hindu *Puranas* and Hinduism must disappear from this land and the sooner they disappear the more welcome.⁴

Another Christian missionary W.D. Wilkings wrote in his *Daily Life and Work in India* :

If this faith, the divine origin in these books (The Vedas) could be destroyed, they would reasonably hope that the people would listen with unprejudiced mind in their statements depicting Christianity... with this object in view, Christian schools were opened."⁵

In the beginning, the English East India Company was indifferent to the Christian missionaries' activities in India, but the British Government later on began to

patronize Christianity. Christian missionaries began to receive large grants. The Bishop of Lahore wrote :

That aid is very welcome it is the very largely increased measure of financial help, which we are now, as compared to previous years, receiving from Government ..That the Government in its new attitude, doing so very much more for us than they were willing to do in the past.⁶

Their sources of income were many and varied. They collected funds from all over Europe and America. The Government of the East India Company gave them all encouragement Churches were built and funds provided to them out of the taxes paid by the Indians. Guns were fired in honour of the arriving '*Lat Padri*.' They were allowed to move along with the troops from one military area or cantonment to the other. They entered the jails to convert the convicts. They were helped to convert even members of the royal houses. Promotions were offered to secure converts for the church. With these resources, encouragement and facilities, the spread of western education and the expansion of railways, Christianity captured a vast field in India.⁷

Dr. Timothy Low of Yanching Universities, Peking, analysing about the position of Christianity in India, came to the conclusion that "one of the features is the special Government protection that surrounds Christianity."⁸

The British Government also had a hand in the appointments of Bishops for India. In a private letter, the Marquess of Crewe wrote to the Secretary of State for India, "If a Bishop from this country was to be appointed to Calcutta, the Bishop of Lahore would be the best selection. He is a remarkable preacher."⁹ In an address of welcome to the Viceroy from the All India Christian Conference, it was disclosed that :

The Indian Christian community was threatened with extinction during the days of Indian mutiny, but through the grace of God it has more than doubled since 1881, the number of Christians has multiplied nearly three-fold since 1872..... Indian Christians acknowledge with gratitude the recent decision of the Government to recruit an Indian Christian battalion in the Punjab.¹⁰

Thus, it was not only because of the all-out efforts of Christian missionaries, but also due to the patronage received from the British Government that Christianity spread at a fast pace in India. The total number of the Christians all over India including Burma had risen from 17,82,977 in 1872 to 26,01,355 in 1911 showing an increase of 45.8%. In British India and the native states, the increase was from 15,17,977 in 1872 to 22,84,380 in 1911, over 50 percent. In British territories alone the number of Christians increased from 8,97,682 in 1872 to 14,91,662 in 1911, by 66 percent.¹¹

In 1921, the total number of all classes of Christians, Europeans, Anglo-Indians in British India was 47,54,064 of whom nearly 30 lakh were in the Madras Presidency (and Southern States alone). The Roman Catholics in the whole of India numbered 18,23,079.¹²

No wonder the increase in the number of Christians alarmed the Arya Samajists. "The Christian threat was real."¹³ So, the Arya Samajists developed missions and considered that a part of its duty was to combat Christian missions and Mohammdans.¹⁴

Swami Dayanand had come in contact with Christian missionaries much before the establishment of Arya Samaj. It is mainly through his contact and discussions with the missionaries that he came to know about Christianity.

'It included Dayanand's positive dialogue with Christians especially with same protestant missionaries. The Theosophists gave Dayanand a very distorted picture of Christianity.'¹⁵

During two years (1866-68), he held discussions with several missionaries and also received a copy of the *New Testament* from Rev. T.J. Scott, who met him on October 29, 1868. Scott has written :

"Conversation revealed in him a firm mind, and wellversed in the ancient lore of the Hindus. He talked only Sanskrit and our conversation was conducted through an interpreter. A long talk with the *Fakeer* showed in familiarity with the most ancient and perfect system of Hindu philosophy. He is vedantist...He declared that man could be saved from depravity by knowledge...

I presented the Christian position on each subject of conversation but found that the *Fakeer* did not seem to lose confidence in his theory...After one final interview, I left a copy of *New Testament* with him, requesting him careful perusal of it."¹⁶

During this time Dayanand also had an interview with Rev. J.J. Lucas. He too was much impressed by him and he wrote :

"He spoke so strongly and with such evident conviction against idolatry that I was surprised at the hearty reception the people of Farrukhabad gave him. I went away from the interview feeling that he was a strong man, strong and sincere in his hatred of idolatry."

Similarly, William Hooper also met the Swami. "He had such friendly relationship with the Arya Samaj that he was allowed to give lecture to the members of the Arya Samaj in Lahore". During this time another missionary, Forman, also

used to visit Dayanand. An incident during one of his visits to Dayanand at Gur-daspur was the beginning of a story that Dayanand was receiving money from Christian missionaries.¹⁷ In fact, during this period, according to Monier Williams :

He has done undoubted good by his uncompromising opposition to idolatry and to the later developments of Hinduism, including the whole circle of *Puranic* mythology.¹⁸

Thus, Swami Dayanand had many friends among Christian missionaries. But some of them had also gone against the Swami and his Samaj. Dayanand and his followers always welcomed *Shastrarth* (religious debate), but Christian missionaries could match neither Dayanand nor his followers in this field. In fact, they had no good command over Sanskrit, the language of the Vedas and often mis-interpreted the hymns. Many of them accepted this. Fr. Goreh expressed:

There are among Dayanand's disciples, some who are far more learned than I am, and I may not be able to cope with them.¹⁹

Similarly, Dr. Forman "had warned all the workers of his mission not to engage in any controversy with the Aryas."²⁰

But, still some missionaries did not want that Dayanand and his followers should go uncontested. They came forward to floor Dayanand.

In May 1866, Swami Dayanand had *Shastrarth* with three European missionaries viz. Grey, Robson and Schoolbred at Ajmer. During the discussion Rev. Schoolbred, becoming angry with the frank and outspoken expression of Dayanand's opinion, threatened that he might have to go to prison for saying such things.²¹ In fact, it was "in his defence of the Vedas as a sufficient basis for faith the Swami came into conflict with Christianity and thus gave the Aryas its first tinge of aggressiveness which made it an expression of Indian Nationalism."²²

Dayanand's command over the Vedas worked wonders. Hindu students of Mission school at Amritsar, after listening to the *Padrees*, had begun to believe in Christianity and went so far as to call themselves unbaptised Christians. "But when they attended Swamiji's lectures, they were disillusioned and remained Hindus."²³ The Christians invited P. Khadag Singh who had been converted to Christianity twelve years back by Rev. Baring to come and have a *Shastrarth* with Swami Dayanand. P. Khadag Singh came. He was taken to the Swami. He was so impressed by Swami's personality that he "there and then lost faith in Christianity and became a follower of Swami ji." Rev. Baring became alarmed at this and sent for Rev. K.B. Benerjee, a famous Indian Christian of Calcutta, to come and save Christianity in the Punjab but he could not come. The *Padrees* were disappointed. Thus several people who had become inclined towards Christianity became members of the Arya Samaj. Several Christians were re-converted to Hinduism. In Masud the Rao

Bahadur tried to organise two debates. He invited Dr. Schoolbred for that purpose, but the clergyman was so satisfied by Dayanand's lectures that he declined to debate. Swami Dayanand had also meetings with Rev. E.M. Wherry at Ludhiana who belonged to American Presbyterian Mission, Dr. W. Hooper, Principal of Lahore Divinity School, and Rev. C.W. Forman of the American Presbyterian Mission. The Swami also met Robert Clark, the eminent leader of the Church Missionary Society in the Punjab since the early fifties.

So, the chain of debates continued. A *Zamindar* of Chandrapur (District Shahjahanpur) held a regular *Mela* with the sanction of the District Magistrate of that place in March 1877. Eminent preachers of all religions were invited in order to give discourses on the doctrines of their different creeds to the assembled thousands. Christians were represented by Scott, Edwin and W. Parker. Some persons went to Swami Dayanand and said that the Hindus and the Mohammedans should conjointly refute the religion of the *Padrees*. But the Swami replied that in the *Mela*, it was proper that there should be no partiality; on the contrary, "it is better that we, the *Maulvies* and *Padrees* should together investigate the truth with love and should not act in a spirit of antagonism to anybody."²⁴ Thus, many discussions were held with Christian missionaries. G. Hibbert reported from Delhi, "Hitherto all the discussions at which we have been present, with the exception of one, have been with the Aryas."²⁵

Swami Dayanand in his chapter on 'Christianity' in the *Satyarth Prakash* writes that "this review is only in the interest of the propagation of truth and the suppression of falsehood and not to offend the feelings of anyone."²⁶ Seventy seven pages of *Satyarth Prakash* are devoted to a discussion of the Christianity based on the *Bible*, which Dayanand had read in both its Hindi and Sanskrit translations.

From an analysis of Dayanand's meetings with Christian missionaries, it seems that in the beginning his approach towards them was defensive. He became aggressive against Christianity only after reading the Bible. Many of the serious encounters he had with Christian missionaries seem to have been only after he got *The New Testament* from T.J. Scott. Secondly, it is also seen that he was more offensive against the Catholics than with the Protestants.

Swami Dayanand called Christianity a foreign religion, the religion of foreign civilization and culture. He found that "Christians have an anthropomorphic conception of God, a God who was corporeal, localized and visible like any other human being and who had all the human imperfections with finite attributes and who even accepted animal sacrifice." On question of salvation, the Christians maintained that Jesus Christ was the only mediator between God and men or he was the only way to God. The Swami also attacked Christianity on other levels, first for its beliefs and practice of customs repugnant to Hindus and, second, for a theology based on superstition and irrationality. "Christianity taught not only sacrifice in the Old

Testament, but cannibalism in the new, examples of animal sacrifice produced deep feelings of revulsion."²⁷ On the other hand, Dayanand expressed that "Vedic theism was in many respects superior even to the theism of Islam and very much superior to dogmatic Christianity."²⁸ He regarded the Vedas self-evident truths admitting of no doubt and depending on the authority of no other book, being represented in nature, the kingdom of God.²⁹ Swami Dayanand calls upon the Christians.

Listen Ye Christian, now abandon this barbarian religion and accept the truly civilized religion of the Vedas which will give you happiness.³⁰

The first edition of the *Satyarth Prakash* did not include a "chapter on Christianity". It was only in the second edition that it was added. Earlier only a few Christians who had come in contact with Dayanand knew his views on Christianity. But now when the second edition of *Satyarth Prakash* came out, and reached in the hands of a large number of Christian missionaries, they could not swallow the bitter pill. They came out to condemn Dayanand and his Arya Samaj openly.

Regarding the chapter on Christianity, a missionary says that "for a Christian this chapter is really painful reading."³¹ Another Christian missionary says, "Dayanand himself has taken the trouble of making an excommunication of Christianity in his writings."³² Yet another said :

"Dayanand retorted by choosing anthropomorphism and miracles from the genesis down to the episcopatism deriding them and misrepresenting them with so much scorn and sometimes blasphemes that it makes a most abominable reading and a caricature of Christianity. He pours insult and blasphemes on our Lord in many ways calling him a 'Juggler'⁵, deceiver, destitute of knowledge. When he comes to the episcopatism, he seems to exceed himself saying that "no one short of an idiot would admit such nonsense."³³

Stephen Neil has also written that :

"The special (Nails) of his (Dayanand's) wrath were reserved for Christianity... No insult is too bitter, no contempt too fierce, to be heaped on the head of the founder of the Christian religion."³⁴

Christian missionaries were in no way less outspoken. Some of them went so far as to question Dayanand's sincerity as a religious reformer. They point out that "in his youth he was neither truthful nor sober."³⁵ Similarly, Fr. Gorey has written :

"I have a great detestation for the Arya Samajists. The founder of this sect, Dayanand Saraswati, who is now dead, has invented this religion, by putting false, glaringly false interpretation on the passages of the Vedas. It is built on downright falsehood."³⁶

Keeping in view the antagonism for each other, R.G. Melburn seems to have rightly concluded, "Contempt is almost always unjust and we have both of us, Arya Samajists and Christians alike." We may also conclude that during the so called *Shastrarth* between Swami Dayanand or his followers and Christian missionaries both spoke for their own point of view without seriously trying to penetrate each others thoughts. "Theologically, psychologically and culturally each party spoke its own language which other party did not understand. It was a monologue of two parties facing each other, each speaking, to itself. The result was a profound mutual misunderstanding and ended up with antagonism and hostility."³⁸

Moreover, some Christian exponents unnecessarily created obstacles by presenting Christianity as a religion of Europe, irremediably linked up with its culture and civilization. It was just contrary to the teachings of what Second Vatican Council had proclaimed :

"The church, sent to all peoples of every time and place, is not bound exclusively and indissolubly to any race or nation, nor to any particular way of life or any customary pattern of living ancient or recent. Faithful to her own tradition and at the same time conscious of her universal mission, she can enter into communion with various cultural modes, to her own enrichment and theirs too."³⁹

Islam and Christianity were both proselytising religions whereas Hinduism was considered a closed faith. Swami Dayanand wanted to create in Hinduism a conscious and active proselytising spirit. It was started by him through *Shuddhi*. It was also in the sphere of proselytism that he and his Arya Samaj came into direct conflict with Christianity.⁴⁰

Thus, the British Government under the influence of Christian missionaries and the reports of intelligence department considered Swami Dayanand "an ardent nationalist and that political subjects were discussed at the Samaj anniversaries from the beginning." The Government also considered that "there is one aspect of the Arya Samajists which cannot be separated from politics and that is definitely anti-Christian character of the society."

However, there were some missionaries who were all praise for the Swami. Apart from Scott, Dr. Hoernle had many meetings with Swami Dayanand and "gave repeated expression of his admiration of him."⁴¹ C.F. Andrews also wrote :

The Swami's teaching has loosened the bonds of caste and weakened the ties of idolatry by which the common people were bound. It has also lessened to a remarkable degree the sacerdotal tyranny of the Brahmans. . He was a puritan to the backbone and lived up to his creed. He was a fighter, strong, virile, independent if somewhat imperious in behaviour. He was a passionate lover as far as he could see it.⁴²

There is no denying the fact that Swami Dayanand had full command over Vedic studies and its language Sanskrit. Even "Max Muller wanted Swami Dayanand to come to England and teach there, but he refused saying that he had a mission to fulfil in India."⁴³ As for his attacks on Christianity, he was out-spoken not only against Christianity, but equally so against Islam and orthodox Hinduism. Burns has also written in the Census Report of India, 1901, that "in their opposition to Christianity they go no further than they do in their opposition to Hinduism." Swami Dayanand's lectures were stopped by the District Magistrate of Benaras. *The Pioneer* took up the cause of the great reformer and the Government rescinded the order of the magistrate by wire. In fact, Dayanand sought to reform the abuses of Hinduism in order to protect the latter against the impact of Western and Christian influences. There is also no denying the fact that he wished to unify India around Hinduism and secure the expulsion of Islam and Christianity as alien faiths.

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Swami Dayanand and his Social Thought

S. R. Bakshi

Swami Dayanand clarified his social philosophy in the introductory paras of *Satyarth Prakash* : 'Though I was born in Aryavarta (India) and live in it, yet just as I do not defend the falsehood of the faiths and religions of this country, but expose them fully; in like manner, I deal with the religions of other countries. I treat the foreigners in the same way as my own countrymen, so far as the elevation of the human race is concerned. Therefore, the purpose of my life is the extirpation of evils; introduction of truth in thoughts, speech and deeds; the preservation of unity of religions; the expulsion of mutual animosity; the extension of friendly intercourse; and the advancement of public happiness. May the grace of the Almighty God and the constant cooperation of the learned soon spread these doctrines all over the world to facilitate everybody's endeavour in the advancement of virtue, wealth, godly pleasure and salvation, so that peace, prosperity and happiness may ever reign in the world.'¹

Born in a middle class Audichya Brahmana family in 1824 in the State of Morvi, situated in South Gujarat, young Mool Shankar was a precocious child not to be easily influenced by the oft-repeated rituals by his parents and the society in which he grew up.

His life was eventful. He was a fearless propagandist. He was merciless in his denunciation of vice and superstition in all their forms. Indeed he had boundless energy. The source of this energy was his absolute faith in God. He felt that whatever he was doing was God's work and he was a mere instrument for doing it. He was a wonderful soul; a scholar, a saint, a reformer all combined in one person.²

Indeed his radicalism, his rational outlook, his deep earnestness, his utter sincerity and above all his powerful personality united in giving a fresh thought, a new message to the community giving birth to a new Order.³

His working of mind from childhood was like that of Buddha who was pained to learn human misery. He began to feel that the world was a 'vast vale of tears'. The remedy he suggested was to achieve *moksha*⁴ through *yoga*.

At an early age of five, Mool Shankar learnt *Devanagari* alphabet. After three years, he had his *Yajnopavita* (sacred thread) which started with reciting of *Gayatri Mantra* and *Sandhya*. At fourteen, he remembered the whole of *Yajurveda Samhita* by

heart. Soon after he developed himself much by getting training in interpreting religious scriptures at Banaras, Mathura and other places.

'Swami Dayanand even at the first visit could probe into the depth of Guru Virjananda's learning and thanking his stars entered seriously into the discipleship of this extraordinary teacher. He remained there for three years continuously with liberally oriental devotion to the preceptor... He learnt from him first the *Sanskrit* grammar of Panini with the great commentary by Patanjali called *Mahabhashya*... Grammar was taught as a science—supreme science—science of sciences and *Pandits* devoted their whole life to grammar for its own sake. Guru Virjananda learnt and taught grammar as a key to unlock the *shastras* or holy books. Panini's grammar or *Ashtadhyayi* (meaning eight-chaptered book) was a key to the long closed book of the Vedas..... Swami Virjananda successfully impressed upon Swami Dayanand's mind that what passed as Hindu religion was an anti-thesis of the ancient Vedic *Dharma* and the prevailing scriptures, the *Puranas* and the like, though in holy *Sanskrit* language taught anti-Vedic theology and anti-Vedic social ethics. There was a heart to heart talk between the teacher and the pupil—a soul conversing with another soul, in all visible and invisible ways, till the dark cloud over Swami Dayanand's mind seemed to be cleared off and he felt the rays of divine light illuminating his inner self. He was satisfied and at peace with him self.'⁶

'The ultimate result of such meditations was to make me violently break with the mummeries of external mortification and penances, for ever and the more to appreciate inwards efforts to the soul. I kept my decision secret, and allowed no one to fathom my innermost thoughts.'⁷

He wandered from place to place and met hundreds of *yogis* and *sanyasis* even in the remote corners of the Himalayas where he discussed with them about the contents in several Hindu scriptures. This afforded him deep insight into the reality sought for by him.

After finishing his education, Dayanand made customary offer of cloves to his teacher, Virjanand, explaining his inability to offer anything else. At this Virjanand observed, 'I demand from you something else as *dakshina*. Take a vow before me that so long as you live, you will work incessantly to spread true knowledge of the *Vedas* and the *Arsha-granths* and condemn works which teach false doctrines and tenets; and that you will even give up your life if necessary in re-establishing the *Vedic* religion. This is my *dakshina*. Dayanand bowed and said, 'Tathastu-so it be.'

Discussion and arguments with leaders representing several faiths had been his consistent programme during his tours from one place to another. On numerous occasions his social ideology prevailed over others in spite of critical remarks from the opposite side. His aim was not to win the point but to place his 'cards' well with arguments based on cogent logic having deep linkage with the gist of religious writings.

He called a conference of the prominent representatives of all religions on the occasion of the historic Delhi Darbar in 1877. Attended by Keshub Chandra Sen, Syed Ahmad Khan, Munshi Alakhdhari and several others, Swami Dayanand opined that the exponents of various faiths should put their heads together to evolve a formula of united activity. 'This Conference paved the way for the later religious parliaments and conferences in which preachers of different faiths met on a common platform and offered to one another olive branch of goodwill and peace.'⁸

'... it is necessary for a determined and resolute soul, dedicated, devoted and inspired by the cause, to emerge and to reactivate the dormant strength of the community, re-awaken its slumbering faculties and create within it a new awareness of its ancient lore and religious teachings as also the heritage of spiritual and cultural values. Such a one was Swami Dayanand. He arrested the process of social and spiritual decay, made us reconsider our identity and gave us a new feeling of resurgence. He rekindled the flickering flame, strengthened our roots, revived faith in ourselves and our destiny and made the community pulsate with new blood. He has aptly been described as the most formidable exponent of Vedas ever since the time of Shankaracharya. His message and mission also brought about, as was inevitable, a general consciousness of the need for political liberation of the country.'⁹

II

In accordance with the social philosophy of Swami Dayanand, the Vedas impart knowledge for the welfare and guidance of mankind and contain germs of divine knowledge of all kinds useful to human beings during the course of their life. They also contain germs of various sciences and arts which we see developed in the world today. To strengthen his arguments, he has extensively quoted *mantras* in his commentary on the Vedas and *Rigvedas Bhashya Bhumika*. He also commented that Vedas gave equal rights to men and women. Both are entitled to read the Vedas and perform *yajanas*. Both may hold property. Both have the same marriage rights. Both may remarry. Enforced widowhood is against the Vedic teachings. The Vedas also teach that everyone should observe *Brahmacharya* till he attains the age of twenty-four, and she, sixteen years. Child marriage is therefore against the injunctions of the Vedas.¹⁰

The Vedas do not enjoin *shraddhas* to the dead ancestors. Respect and reverence for living elders in the family is *shraddha*. There is no mention of *tilak* and *chhap* or *kanthi*¹¹ in the Vedas.¹² Besides, idol worship in temples or other places; religious pilgrimages to the sacred places; bath in the Ganges; the privileged social position of the Brahmins; the system of castes; enforced widowhood; child marriage; untouchability; painting the forehead, arms and other parts of the body; tying *kanthees* and *rudraksha* rosaries; disallowing sudras, women and others to read the Vedas or hear them read, are all practices and observances against the spirit and the letter of the Vedic philosophy.¹³ The Vedas teach worship of one God and equality of all men before Him, *Mukti* or *Moksha* to be gained only by one's good deeds and never by the intervention of anyone else, a prophet or an *avatar*.¹⁴

The word "Veda" means "knowledge", "wisdom", "vision". The vision of the *Vedas* inspired Dayanand. The vision filled him with the spirit of fire and he moved from place to place —unhasting, unresting—to spread the wisdom of the *rishis*.¹⁵

Dayanand pleaded for purity in our schools, purity in our homes, purity in our temples, purity in our national life.¹⁶

O Mother Earth !
 Father Sky !
 Brother Wind !
 Friend Light !
 Beloved Water !
 Take the salutations I give
 with folded hands !
 I long to be mingled with the Pure !
 And may my heart illumined with Thy Light !
 Be ever pure !

The degraded condition of the so-called custodians of Hindu traditions simply shocked him. With a faith all his own, he made up his mind to sacrifice himself to rekindle the flickering flame of Hindu culture. In fact his knowledge of India's past gave him hope for the future. He saw the Divine hand in the fact that the Hindus had been able to survive all the political revolutions, social upheavals the world had seen since the Mahabharata. They had bent but they had not broken absolutely. The persistence of the Hindu filled him with hope. Hinduism must be revitalised, he thought to himself and with a unique confidence he set himself to this herculean task.¹⁷

He was of the firm conviction that if India's religion is purified, no foreign faith will have any place in our country.¹⁸ He showed no consideration for any of his fellow-foreigners, past or present, who had contributed in any way to the decadence of India. He therefore declared war against foreign faiths and contemporary indigenous faiths which were unsuited to India.¹⁹

He was thus proud of Indian culture which is very rich in all contents. He took pity on those who adopted western culture as a way of their life and nurtured English thought and culture. He wondered why at all we should feel inferior and feel ashamed of calling ourselves Indians. He asked, ... 'Why have you parted with your national pride and prestige ? Why can not you walk with heads erect and high ? In the whole world there is no country superior to India, that is why it is called the land of God.'²⁰ 'Whatever countries are there in the world, they all praise this land and cherish hopes from it .. The Indians were the sole overlords of the whole world.'²¹ He claimed that India's culture was superb in the world. He emphasised thus : 'Culturally we are

a far too superior nation. We were sometimes world-teachers. All education that has spread in the world started originally from India. Then it went to Egypt, from there to Greece, from Greece to Turkey and then to Europe. From Europe it went to America and other countries.'²²

To support his contention, he has quoted Jacoliet, a well-known French scholar, who mentioned in his book entitled *The Bible in India*, 'India is the fountain-head of all knowledge and all righteousness. All knowledge and religions have sprung from here.....O God make my country as advanced in knowledge as India was in olden days.'²³

He never mentioned the names of his parents. He thought that it was unethical in Indian tradition to mention such names. He explains thus: 'I have refrained from giving the names of my father and other relatives, for if they heard of me, they would have sought me out and asked me to solve their problems and supply their wants: I would have had to touch money again. I would have got involved in their affairs and my social and religious work which is the mission of my life would have irretrievably suffered.'

His own name at birth was Mool Shankar. His father, Amba Shankar, was a zamindar, revenue collector with respectable official status. His mother's name was Amritben or Ambobai.

III

The foundation of Arya Samaj in Bombay on 10 April 1875 was a unique gift of Swami Dayanand to his several followers. His idea was to give wide publicity to the Vedic ideology. It had one hundred founding members. He was requested to become the patron or the life president of the Arya Samaj, but he declined. He was enrolled as an ordinary member of the organisation. At one point of time, he exhorted his followers thus: 'Follow the rules, don't follow any individual person.'

He explained his creed in the following words: 'Ours is not any independent religion. I am under the *Vedas*. I am a *sannyasi* and my duty is to preach the Truth without fear or favour. I am not after fame. People may praise me or criticise me, but my duty is to preach true *dharma*. You may or may not accept it, it is none of my gain or loss.'

At another occasion, he explained thus: 'If with your efforts, you want to do good to the community, then do set up the Arya Samaj. I have no objection. But if there is no proper organisation and discipline, there will be trouble and confusion in the end. As for me, I advise you as I preach to all others. But please remember

—Ours is no separate, independent religion. I am not know-all. If you discover any error in me, you may correct it after reason and argument. If you don't do so, you will only add one more sect to the existing ones. "The Guru's word is gospel"; that has been the failing of most of the sects, that have encouraged sectarian divisions, blind faith, irrational prejudices and false doctrines and wrong practices. That is the confusing religious picture of contemporary India. But all the mutually warring sects accept the *Vedas* as the final authority. I seek to unite all these rivulets and streams in the grand ocean of the *Vedas*. Thus will come the unity of *dharma*.'

The Ten Rules ultimately adopted after much thought and discussion became the fundamental tenets of Arya Samaj and all the Aryas were enjoined upon to conform to them strictly in their daily life. These Rules were as follows:

1. God is the primordial root (source) of all True Knowledge and of all things that can be known through Knowledge.
2. God is All-Truth, All-knowledge, All-Bliss; He is Bodyless(Formless), Almighty, Just, Merciful, Unborn, Infinite, Unchangeable, Beginningless, Incomparable, Support and Lord of All, All-Pervading, Knower and Controller of all from within, Imperishable, Immortal, Fearless, Eternal, Holy and Creator of the whole Universe. He alone is worthy of worship.
3. The *Veda* is the book of all true knowledge. It is the prime duty of all Aryas to study and propagate the *Veda*, hear and preach it.
4. We should always be ready to accept Truth and reject untruth.
5. All actions should be performed according to *Dharma* and after considering the right and wrong of each.
6. The principal purpose of this Samaj is to do good to the world—physical, spiritual and social.
7. We should deal with all with love, righteousness and consideration of their merit.
8. We should work for the liquidation of ignorance and promotion of knowledge.
9. No one should be content with his own uplift, but should feel his own good in the good of all.
10. All men are obliged (unfree) in having to obey the social laws that have been framed for the good of all; but everyone is free to work for his own welfare.

IV

“A non-believer in the caste system, he always launched a most violent attack on casteism. The social position of a person, according to his social thought, could not be determined by mere accident of his birth in a particular family. He strengthened his assertion by quoting *Dharmasutras* and opined that the social status and position of a person in the society should be well-judged and assessed in accordance with his academic attainments, character and other accomplishments earned through noble means. He further stated that as small a person as cobbler's son had all the claims like a Brahman in the society, if he was well-educated and had attained all accomplishments by reading *Vedas*. He had the right to put on the *Yajnopavit*.²⁴ Similarly, a man born in a Brahman, Kashtriya or a Vaishya family should become a Shudra if his merits, actions and temperaments are Shudra-like.²⁵”

The societal treatment meted out to economically and socially weaker sections like *Bhils*, *Chamars*, *Kolis* and several other classes of untouchables excluded them from the pale of Hindu social life and withheld from them knowledge and religious instruction resulting in large number of them leaving Hinduism and embracing either Christianity or Islam. Swami Dayanand was pained too see all this and opined, ‘This disease cannot be cured by your doctor. It has originated because I have been thinking of the degraded condition of the people of our country. The Christians are doing all they can to convert the *Kolis* and *Bhils*, depressed classes of the Hindus and are spending money like water, while the religious leaders of the Hindus are sleeping like Kumbakaran. I wish to bring the Rajas and the Maharajas to right path and unite the Arya race into one unity. The anxiety is disturbing me.’²⁶

In the same vein, he had a serious dig on teachers of dharma at Udaipur in 1882. ‘Want of care and thought and indolence on the part of the leaders and the teachers of dharma and their prejudices have resulted in the degradation of the ideals, the conduct and the modes of life of people and in loss of national sentiment; and unless the question of its regeneration is seriously taken in hand, the nation is sure to die owing to the prejudices of those teachers. Crores of people have become Mussalmans or are being converted to Christianity Unless the nation is awakened by giving her bitter doses of truth and right advice, and unless evil customs and practices and evil ideals and policies are destroyed, there is little doubt that the race will die. I am not doing my work in my own interest. I suffer all kinds of troubles and insults, get abuse and submit to assaults, become a target for stones and bricks; have been poisoned severel times, yet I undergo all these for the sake of reclaiming Dharma and securing the uplift of the race.’

He was deady against any differential or preferential treatment being given owing to the birth of any person in a high or low *varna* or in a high or low caste or

profession.²⁷ According to him the *varna-vyavasth* rested on *guna*, *karma* and *svabhava* (quality, action and temperament) and not on birth. According to him, it was due to good or bad *samskaras*, associations, training, character etc. that the *varna* of every individual was determined. Cleanliness, good qualities and habits enable a person who is born in a Sudra family to enter a higher *varna*. Uncleanliness makes every person untouchable, whether born in a Brahmin, Kshatriya or Vaishya family, while cleanliness makes every person born in a Sudra family touchable. An untouchable becomes touchable as soon as he cleans himself by washing his body, clothes etc.²⁸

'Swami Dayanand's movement not only aimed at eradicating the evils that bedevilled the society, but it was also an effort at laying the foundation of a casteless and classless society where all men enjoyed equal opportunities and privileges. Swami Dayanand was appalled by the religious bigotry of the high priests of society and how they exploited the people to promote their personal and parochial interests. The high priests were trying to perpetuate the caste hierarchy to exploit the masses in the name of religion. Swami Dayanand initiated his movement to put an end to such exploitation and to create a social order where every individual was free to pursue his faith without let or hindrance. Dayanand's movement was aimed at elevating man from the depths of superstition and blind adherence to tradition to a level of a reasoning where he would search for the solution to his problems by questioning the self.'²⁹

V

Swami Dayanand vehemently launched attacks on idolatry and polytheism and exhorted his audience to worship one God who is Omniscient, Formless, All-pervading Unborn, Infinite, Almighty, Merciful and Just. He is the maker of the whole Universe and he is its sustainer and dissolver.³⁰

He raised his voice against superstitions being observed by our society all over India. He does not believe in heaven (*swaraga*) or hell (*narka*) and called them as the 'states of mind which a person experienced on account of his deeds: enjoyment of special happiness and possessions of the means thereof (*Swaraga*) for good deeds and sufferings and the means thereof (*narka*) for misdeeds'. Similarly he has no faith in *tirthas*³² and stated, 'I hold that *tirthas* are good works, such as speaking the truth, acquisition of knowledge, company of the wise and the good, practice of the *yamas* and other stages of *yoga*, life of activity, spreading knowledge for the good of the society. No places or rivers can be *tirthas*.'³³

Swami Dayanand was of the firm conviction that our society could not progress unless women were given proper status and position with men. He was unhappy to see the sufferings of womenfolk, denial of educational facilities, child-marriage, *pardah* system, *sati*, polygamy, forced widowhood and several other social

handicaps faced by them. He, therefore, urged that they should be given proper education for the efficient performance of 'household affairs; conjugal happiness and home keeping are the things which can never be satisfactorily conducted by uneducated women. Besides, if uneducated, then how can they take part in the affairs of the government or in the administration.'³⁴

VI

The problem of illiteracy and its eradication from our society was taken up by Dayanand in a serious way. He was sure in his mind that the prevailing system of education under the Raj was very slow and defective, and would not eradicate illiteracy among the teeming millions of our country. He advocated a system of free and compulsory education as most of the parents were unable to defray the expenses of education of their children. He held the state responsible for the spread of education in a universal way. He observed, 'There should be a state legislation to the effect that nobody should keep his sons and daughters away from school after the fifth or at the most eighth year of age. The parents not abiding by this order should be punished by the state.'³⁵

In the chain of Vedic institutions founded with the efforts of Swami Dayanand, the main emphasis was laid on moral and spiritual education. He opined that the *guru* and the pupil should live like father and son. The *guru* is to be responsible for education, board and lodging and other daily needs of his students. The pupil is to show all kinds of discipline, obedience mingled with love and respect towards his *guru*. In these *gurkulas*, the students would have least contact with their parents. The curriculum included the study of the Vedas, Upanishads, Manusmriti and other holy books. They should perform *sandhya*, *agnihotra* and prayers to God twice a day. They should practise five *yamas*, namely, *ahimsa*, *satya*, *brahmacharya*, *asteya*,³⁶ and *aparagraha*.³⁷ Besides, they should practise five *niyamas* which would purify their lives. These were *shaucha*,³⁸ *tapa*,³⁹ *swadhyaya*,⁴⁰ *santosha*,⁴¹ and *ishwar pranidhana*.⁴² He was against co-education and wished to have a distance of at least five kilometres between the boys' and girls' institutions. In the girls' schools, all members of the staff should be women.

Thus he laid down the following seven rules for these institutions :

1. The student should be *brahmachari* and should know *sandhya*.
2. The students should be taught standard works on grammar like *Ashtadhyayi* and *Mahabhashya*, *Manusmriti*, *Vedas* etc.
3. Students must perform their *sandhya* both in the morning and in the evening.
4. Students must not move out of the campus of the institution.
5. Free food should be supplied to the students.

6. Students who show better academic excellence should be given some privileges like good food.
7. All students should participate in *havan*, and *agnihotra*.

He meticulously spelt out a proper curriculum which was quite widespread representing all branches of knowledge. There should be equal emphasis on languages, sciences, technology and arts. He recommended that there should be no difference between a poor and a rich man's sons or daughters in matters of imparting education. Lessons on social equality should be emphasized. All should be given proper attention, should be dressed alike, should eat alike and live in the same style irrespective of the fact whether they are the sons and daughters of the aristocrats and nobles or those of the poor.⁴³

These ideas were given a concrete shape by his followers in various regions in India. To begin with, a Dayanand Anglo-Vedic Schol was opened at Lahore in the Punjab which became a first rate academic institution in North India. In a few decades, the DAV institutions of higher learning were established in Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Kanpur, Sholapur and several other places. Indeed the contribution of these institutions, which were headed by learned and dedicated academicians for raising the academic standard of our students, was very high. As a result of these efforts, the DAV institutions produced renowned teachers doctors, legal experts, technocrats, bureaucrats, social workers and last but not the least sportsmen of high quality.

Dayanand's contribution to the national language for India is unique. He always felt that Hindi being the most extensively spoken and understood of all the indigenous languages, and having the advantage of being based on the most scientific alphabet, could be given that high place. Although himself a Gujarati, he abandoned the language of his own province in favour of Arya Bhasha and wrote his monumental work, the *Satyarth Prakash* in that language. He realised that Indian students should not be plagued with a foreign medium, and that all instruction should, as far as possible, be imparted in the country's own language. He, however, did not want that the study of English should be neglected. He only wanted the vernacular of the country to take its proper place.⁴⁴ He stated, 'First study the works bequeathed to you by your *rishis*, digest their philosophy, assimilate their thoughts and then supplement such a kind of oriental learning with the occidental knowledge. Do not neglect the study of English as it is the *Rajy-bhasha*. He wanted students to be well-conversant with their own culture and traditions lest they should be anglicised to such an extent that they should know more about Bacon and Mill than about Kapila or Patanjali. With this object in view he tried to give a new impetus to the study of Sanskrit as well. Indeed his advocacy of Hindi found much support from no less a leader than Mahatma Gandhi.⁴⁵

VII

Swami Dayanand's highest degree of scholarship in the divinely inspired Vedas, his excellence in the social reforms of our society, his efforts for the foundation of the Arya Samaj and his interpretation of human values for the welfare of humanity have been eulogised by no less prominent personalities than Mahatma Gandhi, Romain Rolland, Max Muller, Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru, C. F. Andrews, Mahatma Hans Raj and several others. Gandhi opined, 'his unequivocal pronouncement against untouchability is undoubtedly one.' Romain Rolland called him the hero of the *Iliad* or of the *Gita* with the athletic strength of Hercules, who thundered all forms of thought other than his own, the only true one...He was a Luther fighting against his own misled and misguided church of Rome. Max Muller stated that like all the ancient theologians of India, he looked upon the *Vedas* as divine revelation. Rabindranath Tagore argued that with a clear-sighted vision of truth and courage of determination, he preached and worked for our self-respect and vigorous awakening of mind that could strive for a harmonious adjustment with the progressive spirit of the modern age and at the same time keep in perfect touch with that glorious part of India when it revealed its personality in freedom of thought and action, in an unclouded radiance of spiritual realisation. Jawaharlal Nehru called the Arya Samaj as a reaction to the influence of Islam and Christianity. C. F. Andrews called him a unique personality who actually recapitulated the Vedic life. He embodied it in himself and made it vital and actual for others. Mahatma Hans Raj called him a great world-teacher who saw the truth in its full light and with the key of Truth in his hand unlocked the hidden meanings of the Vedic *mantras*.

'...He was a martyr to work. He was a history-maker and he must play his role. His life moved in a set circle : it was travel, lectures and discussions, ever-ready for a *shastrartha* and voluminous written work to spread his message in time and space. The trend never wavered, the speed never slackened. The other permanent sectors of this circle were actual or potential assaults, violence and attempts at killing him.' This was the sum total of his life. Like a true sannyasi he was a wanderer through life, shedding his light at newer and newer places. His aim was to change the world, to change the thought patterns of the people and save his *dharma* the Vedic way.

'At every place, his arrival created a popular upheaval, a social earthquake. His method was the public lecture, where friend and foe, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, common citizens and bureaucrats and bishops flocked. He was making a few friends and followers, but a much larger number of enemies who wanted to finish him.'⁴⁶

'...His wanderings were non-stop...In the teeth of the most virulent, most determined and most massive opposition from Hindu orthodoxy, Muslim fanaticism and Christian missionary forces, he had forged ahead and gained countless followers, adherents and fellow-travellers. He had given a psychological shaking to the Hindu world and saved it from the apparent danger of wholesale conversion to Christianity.

On this point, even the worst of his enemies were one with him and wished him all success.⁴⁷

There are numerous instances of Swami's magnanimity for the social benefits for humanity. To quote an example, once a Brahmin gave poison to him wrapped in a betel leaf; he at once performed *neoli*, a yogic process and got rid of the poison. At this, when Syed Muhammad, the Tehsildar, arrested the culprit, Swamiji got him released through a personal message to the concerned official. He opined, "The world is fettered by a chain forged by superstition and ignorance. I have come to snap asunder that chain and set slaves at liberty. It is contrary to my mission to have people deprived of their freedom. When this evil-minded man does not give up his wickedness why should I give up my goodness."⁴⁸

On another occasion, a Brahmin made it his daily practice to abuse him at his face, and every time Swamiji offered him sweets. This went on for some days, and then one day, the Brahmin felt ashamed of his conduct, fell at his feet and begged his forgiveness.⁴⁹

Spontaneous love and affectionate consideration for animals and down-trodden was the life-long mission of Swami Dayanand. He pleaded for cow protection in consideration of its immense utility for human beings. He condemned cruelty to mute animals and recommended meticulous care and protection for them. He was critical of meat-eating and preached against it at numerous social forums. Once he thought of going to Europe to represent to the Queen and the Parliament the desirability of prohibiting cow-slaughter. Regarding love and respect for the sentiments of low-placed in our society, he left no stone unturned for their upliftment and amelioration of their social and economic condition. One day, a barber presented him a bread to eat, and Swamiji, without any reservation, accept it. People around him objected to his gesture saying that it was not proper to accept any kind of eatable from such a low-caste person. Without arguing, Swamiji replied that it was wheat bread. Thus the critics were silenced.⁵⁰

Swami Dayanand gave the resounding slogan 'Back to the Vedas'. This indeed was the bedrock of his social and religious reforms. In fact, a large part of his *Satyarth Prakash* is a critique of Hinduism having deep linkage with caste-based on birth in a particular family, idol-worship, various kinds of miracles, pilgrimages, exploiting priests, holymen, several types of rituals and sects.

Out of respect and reverence, his followers call him *Maharshi*, the title which he disclaimed during his life-time. He even did not wish to be called *Rishi* by his disciples. He also vehemently disclaimed the description of a prophet. Instead he stated that he was a humble preacher of truth enshrined in the most ancient of literature—the *Vedas*. 'He was a fighter of epic proportions. There was no yielding in his character—no expediency or sycophancy or compromises—in his life and with his beliefs. Above all, for the great Hindu reformer that he was, his life and his teachings portray the true secularism of our ancient civilisation.'

'He does not mince matters. This spiritual athlete speaks the truth even in the midst of hostile crowds.'⁵¹ 'He is sincere, even to bluntness. And this his soft critics have called his 'intolerance'. Dayanand is intolerant of what he regards as superstition and hypocrisy. He cannot barter conviction for convenience.'⁵²

'The genius of Vedic culture had taken a deep root in his mind. His knowledge of Aryan thought and civilisation was so profound, and his appreciation of it so great that it seemed he was living in the company of the ancient *rishis*.

'The development of Dayanand's conception of the *Vedas*, so intimately attached to his name, was a very long and slow process. Firm foundations for it were laid in his youth.'⁵³

'It was not his dream to be the founder and *guru* of a reformed sect, but to work for the regeneration of the whole of Aryavarta. His own efforts and those of his Samaj were not only for the sake of the Arya, but for the sake of the larger body of Hinduism.'⁵⁴

A close and critical study of the Vedic literature had convinced him that our people had, in their long and ever-widening deviation from the high and right orbit, completely forgotten the strictly scientific and etymological system of construing the *Vedas*.⁵⁵ 'It had therefore been one of his incessant endeavours to revive that system.'⁵⁶

He was a philosopher and a missionary combined in one. His philosophy of life is a quest for truth, and an outcome of sincere inner yearnings of the soul. Indeed his theology, his morals, his economics, his politics are all inseparably connected with each other and all these combined he calls *dharma*.

He lays much emphasis upon character-building as the most prominent factor in the political progress of a nation. In Chapter six of *Satyarth Prakash* the main theme propounded by him is character. He opined that we are the makers of our destinies, whether individual or national. A licentious king cannot keep his people from being licentious. A king given to drinking, gambling, or any bad habit, is the sower of those habits in the soil of his people's hearts. Therefore he said that, 'a king or an administrator or justice who is given to licentiousness, crookedness, jealousy or petty-mindedness perishes under the very weight of law.' And whatever form of government, our governors must be 'learned, virtuous and cultured'.

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Swami Dayanand Saraswati and Indian Nationalism

K. Sreenivasa Santha

An analysis of the socio-religious reform activities of the 19th century reveal certain features. Firstly, the reformers were by and large not isolationists, for the reason that while attempting to eradicate the prevailing social and religious abuses and thereby remodel Indian society, they were keen to assimilate into their new fabric what was good in the West. The manner and extent of assimilation, however, varied from individual to individual. Secondly, these were largely universal in outlook rather than sectarian (with the exception of Muslim reform movement). Brahmo Samaj advocated the Universal church and gave recognition to the fundamental truths of all religions. It took upon, subsequently, the alien religious precepts too into its own fold. The Arya Samaj, while crying for "back to the Vedas" was in reality trying to re-establish the universalism and catholicity of Hinduism. Thirdly, the reformers adopted a comprehensive and integrated approach to remove not only Indian religious and social evils but also to make India strong, united and progressive.¹

In this context, we shall see the work of the Arya Samaj and its founder, Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati. His role is magnificent in the reconstruction of a truly secular and nationalistic state echoing national consciousness. The very term, he adopted, i.e. Arya connotes the true and one indigenous community which had its beginnings as remote as 15th century B.C. but gradually developed expansively, assimilating all the external and internal impacts brought upon the land and its people. These impacts were either due to the time-honoured but limited necessities, or refractory ebullitions due to breaks of human nature or foreign aggressions. These types, whatsoever—rigid, large, progressive, stagnant and subsequently even degrading was the result of such a continuous process in the course of centuries. The sum effect of these was a divided and distorted India, socially, religiously and culturally and into a form and beyond recognition of that pure, homogenous Aryan society, religion and pristine glory which emanated out of all that mystic and majestic nature. People were amicable, accommodating and enjoyed equality and liberalism. The society itself was so pleasantly flexible that

practically there was no caste or class system and everybody functioned collectively, and the people willingly shared responsibilities for the good of the community. The flourishing economic conditions catered to the basic Indian conditions of climate and needs. The very structure of society, allegorically represented as being emanated from the *Virat Purush*, emphasised the right by capability and not the right by birth for a profession and categorisation of society. The rich literature, the *Vedas*, supposed to be have been the revelations (such as is found in Islamic and Christian cultures) served as the preceptor/guardian of the society's temporal and spiritual happiness. The women enjoyed high status. The education that was imparted was of materialistic utility as well as a means to foster morals and ethics and build high standards of society. Dayanand Saraswati, therefore, very prophetically and rightly realised that the *Vedas* are the only binding force to rescue the shattered, distracted, divided and exploited masses of the land in the nineteenth century who had forgotten their original culture, lost independence and were on the verge of losing their identity. The western writers rather incorrectly represented the Arya Samaj as a revolt against Hindu orthodoxy.² They believed that in order to strengthen the Hindu religion, the Samaj "accepted" and "purified" individuals and received them into the so called Aryan brotherhood.³ But it was neither a revolt against Hindu orthodoxy nor a desire to convert people of other religions. It was a mere reminder to the Aryans of their subsequent perversions and the original glories of the Aryavarta. The foreign invaders occupied the land by force due to which the people were brought to book and to submit to their faiths either by force or wise ruse. So the Aryan conversions were a mere succour to the helpless and prodigal children of the soil, Aryavarth, to return to their original community and their genuine religion.

The Maharshi, starting as a seeker of truth and means for liberation (Mukti) turned an emancipator, reformer and liberator of Indian bondage and infused national consciousness among the people. He believed that knowledge which was not transformed into action bore no fruit.⁴ He played a key role and became the forerunner of the Mahatma, the father of India. Dr. Keskar, Union Minister in Jawahar Lal Nehru's cabinet, observed : "Mahatma Gandhi had only taken up the work begun by Swami Dayanand and completed it."⁵

His systematic approach to achieve success in this mission is admirable. First he gave a clarion call, 'Back to the Vedas' and preached the *Arya Dharma* which could bind all and sundry into the original fold of Vedic community. This was the first measure to unite all people of the country. The principle of *ahimsa*, championed by Gandhi for which the world paid rich tributes to him, was the basic tenet of Dayanand. He got released the man who poisoned him saying that his mission was to liberate people and not to enslave them.

Besides the Arya Dharma, the other binding force of the entire community of the indigenous Aryas was Sanskrit (besides few other minor dialects). This underwent various changes. Later the country was parcelled out into many regions with different languages, although all these languages had roots in Sanskrit. Therefore, to knit these distracted parcelled out society, a *Lingua Franca* was felt as the utmost need of the times. As a religious reformer, Dayanand first thought of Sanskrit but his social concern led him to see the impracticability of reaching to the masses through Sanskrit. So to fulfil the desire of introducing a common language he adopted Hindi, a language spoken by the largest number of people. His earnestness to reach the masses and awaken them led him to take the advice of Keshav Chandra Sen to adopt Hindi. Dayanand thus became a pioneer of creating a national language.

Freed with the problem of language, Dayanand began zealously and devotedly to work for the removal of social evils and inauguration of our national learning. Dayanand was of the opinion that India must have her own national education. In this field he stressed upon a system which imparted religious and moral teaching, character building within a certain period from about the age of 7 to 25 i.e. the age of *Brahamcharya*. He believed that the state should provide free and universal education. As regards the aim of national education his emphasis was to teach to the individual that the growth towards freedom was progress; that every human being was the master of his own destiny; that neither fate nor *karma* was above control; that the road to progress lay in the voluntary identification of oneself with his or her social group; that the nation was that social group with which every person should identify himself or herself; that without this identification progress or growth towards freedom was indeed very difficult.⁶

His work *Satvartha Prakash* is to throw light on truth, the means to live materialistically and the end to achieve salvation. *Artha* is the second of our *Purushartha* ordained by the Vedas for the existence and perpetuation of our culture. Thus his subsequent establishment of Arya Samaj very appropriately is the guiding factor for the Aryas in India and truly runs parallel in spirit to the injunction of the *Rigveda*.

"Walk together, speak together, let your minds be all alike.

May the purpose be common, common the assembly, common the mind : So be their thoughts united. I lay before you a common object, and worship with your common oblation.

May your decisions be unanimous, your minds be of one accord.

May the thoughts of all be united so that there may be a happy agreement among all."⁷

Such a determination and decision was imperative for the Indians to face the mighty alien rulers so as to protect their religion, culture and identity and to rid themselves of the chains of bondage. The *Shuddhi* and *Sanghathan* were the inevitable

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

means to rectify the evils of society, to reorganise the Aryan society and enable, as already stated, all such people desirous of joining back into the Aryan community. The door was opened generously even to the Muslims and Christians (most of these were Indians by lineage or birth but got converted, either willingly or unwillingly, by threat of sword or clever devices). With this end in view he also paid attention to the Indian mother, wife and daughter. In the Aryan society, women enjoyed equal status, freedom and respect. There were no degrading elements such as female infanticide, rigours of enforced widowhood, dowry or the contemptible child marriages. In the great task of reorganization and integration, he felt women had to be liberated, restored to their original status to enable them to participate in all public functions and duties. Therefore, he worked for the women's emancipation and the results of all such ceaseless and sincere efforts were the social enactments passed in this connection. He advocated the use of hand woven cloth and swadeshi goods. The remarkable feature of these reforms is that the Maharshi worked for a lasting, enduring, glorious revival of the Aryans and a flourishing, prosperous *Aryavartha*.

The observation of P. Harrison, I.C.S. and the then District Magistrate of Allahabad is worth quoting : "The general tenor of Dayanand seems to be rather an exhortation to reform, with perhaps a view to the ultimate restoration of the government to native hands. His exhortation and prayers are not for the immediate overthrow of the foreign rule, but for such reformation as may perhaps enable the Hindus in the future to govern themselves."⁸

Dayanand Saraswati was the one of the earliest to advocate the concept of 'Swaraj'. While differentiating between "Suraj" (good government) and "Swaraj" he advocated "Swaraj" as it is based on the representative system thereby promoting larger interests of the people.⁹ In Chapter VI of *Satyartha Prakash* Dayanand elucidates on the merits of the king, minister and their relations to the State. Ganga Prasad Updhyaya remarks—

"Dayanand believed that without the sense of self-confidence Swaraj could not be attained...when the education was crippled, officialised and expensive, foreign religion was prevailing in the country it was rather impossible to teach and propagate the idea of Swaraj. But at that critical juncture Dayanand stimulated the sense of self-confidence. Dayanand like a soldier of light, a warrior in God's world, a sculptor of men and institutions, a bold and rugged victor of the difficulties and misfortunes he faced and revealed to Indians their past glory by stimulating the sense of greatness and self-confidence in them."¹⁰

If one evaluates Dayanand's contribution keeping the above facts in view one is constrained to take note of independent India's present day circumstances in which the word "Swaraj" remains a question mark. Even after forty years

of independence have we been able to establish the Swaraj as propounded by Dayanand Saraswati? Probably not.

The minorities, either on the basis of religion or caste, are allowed to enjoy their privileged position, greater protection and reservation and other facilities. The answer to such questions clearly indicate that we are unable to understand or grasp the very meaning of Aryans (or 'Bharatiy'). The rejuvenation of this *Indianness* is in today's relevance. The statement of D. Vable is noteworthy :

The sad experience of the last thirty four years shows that none of these problems could be solved by our politicians... Anti communalism and secularism have become empty political slogans. They have even been distorted and twisted to defeat their very spirit... Those who are loudly condemning communalism practice it brazenly in their personal lives. Casteism which is worse than communalism is rampant amongst the politicians and political parties. The religious minorities are again encouraged to demand separate political rights which lead to the division of our country and which were condemned by our constituent makers as the very antithesis of our nationalism, democracy and secularism¹⁰.

Dayanand's message is not only relevant but the dire need of the present times. His mission for reawakening has to be adopted by the younger generation so that they may once again raise their heads to uphold and cherish these ideals and undertake the task of eradication of such prevailing evils which might endanger our integrity, solidarity and lead us under the trap of foreign powers. Obviously, the need for an organised Arya movement and for promoting its activities is the need of the day. The base of Arya Samaj is *Indianness* (Arya dharma); that which upholds the Vedas and one which is above all the present day India's prevalent evils, inequality etc. It is alone capable of giving (by scientific and progressive ideals) a settlement to the Aryans of our Aryavartha.

Therefore, the Arya Samaj and its movement (which is confined to books and commemorations, and establishment of few colleges and institutions) needs a new direction, incentive and vigour so that the Aryavartha of the Aryans could be re-established and brought to re-existence in full force.

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Arya Samaj and the Emancipation of Women

M.L. Thakur

Among the socio-religious and cultural movements of nineteenth century in India, Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883) and his Arya Samaj played an important role in improving the social, religious, political and economic conditions of India. The Arya Samaj paid special attention to several matters of social importance like-depressed classes, *shuddhi*, orphans, cow protection, child marriage, forced widowhood, purdah, polygamy, dowry, *siapa* and the education of women.

In this paper an attempt has been made to trace the role of Arya Samaj in regard to the emancipation of women with special reference to child marriage, widow marriage, purdah, dowry, polygamy and education of women in certain parts of the Punjab.

A number of studies have been undertaken by eminent scholars who have assessed the role of Arya Samaj and its founder Swami Dayanand with regard to the emancipation of women. Mention may be made of Radhey Shyam Pareek, Dhanpati Pandey, Sri Ram Sharma, Bhadurmaj and Kenneth W. Jones.¹ However, no study relating exclusively to the emancipation of women has so far attracted the attention of the researchers. An attempt has been made to study only this aspect in present paper.

Child Marriage

In ancient India the minimum age of marriage for girls was sixteen as compared with twenty-five in the case of boys. This was based on the Hindu idea of physiological differences between the two sexes. The girls selected their partner, of course under the guidance of their parents or elder brother.² Moreover the sex was as free as it is today in Europe, though as a rule subject to the control of parents.³

The condition of women began to deteriorate from the later Vedic period and became almost deplorable during the middle ages. Child marriage was introduced in Hindu society, when hordes of invaders began to pour into India at about the beginning of the Christian era.⁴ Young boys and girls, and even one-year-old children, began to be married off by their parents. This resulted in the procreation of feeble progenies. Many of the boys died in infancy and their widows were not allowed to remarry.⁵

Swami Dayanand, the founder of Arya Samaj, after completing his education at the feet of Virjanand⁶, started a campaign against these prevailing social evils. He attacked child marriage and forced widowhood.⁷ In his famous work the

Satyarth Prakash he advocated that students should not be allowed to marry before the completion of their education. He located the weak points of the social attitudes of his time and saw how early marriage ruined further prospects of promising youth.⁸ The Swami further emphasised that the best time for marriage of a girl was from the sixteenth to the twenty-fourth year of age and for a man from twenty-five to forty-eight years. Marriage between the girls of twenty-four with men of forty-eight was considered as superior marriage by Swami Dayanand. Dayanand also advocated that marriages should be settled by the principals of the boys' and girls' schools with the consent of their parents.⁹ He believed that another method to prevent child marriage was *Brahmacharya*. He himself set an example by observing life-long *Brahmacharya*, which is the *sin-que-non* for progress and happiness.¹⁰

After the death of Swami Dayanand Arya Samaj made efforts to eliminate this social malady of child marriage. The Peshawar branch of Arya Samaj in Punjab took a lead in this matter. Jagat Singh, one of its members, visited many place of Peshawar district and inspired the people to take a vow not to perform infant or child marriages. Hissar Arya Samaj also sent its propagators to preach against child marriage.¹¹ Dayanand Anglo-Vedic High School, Lahore, also took necessary steps to discourage child marriage. It was decided by the management of the school that one who got married while residing in the hostel should not be allowed to live there. Later on this was followed by the refusal to admit married boys to the Dayanand High School.¹²

The Arya Samaj, therefore, not only enlightened the people against the social malady of child marriage, but also moved a private bill in the Central Legislature to declare it illegal. The bill was passed and came to be known as the 'Sarda Act', after the name of Harbilas Sarda, a prominent Arya Samaji of the first generation. This Act raised the marriageable age of both boys and girls.¹³

The efforts of the Arya Samaj to stop infant marriage may be regarded as the first notable step towards the emancipation of women.

Widow Marriage

The number of child widows had also increased in the nineteenth century India due to the social evil of child marriage. The re-marriage of a widow in the ancient period was allowed only among a few castes.¹⁵ During the later period we find the author of *Smriti* deprecating the custom of widow marriage. The remarriage of even a child widow was disallowed.¹⁴ Several instances are found when a person performing a widow marriage was excommunicated from society. The widows were ill-treated and were kept in separate rooms allotted to them. They were deprived of a social circle. In some parts of India widows were even required to shave their heads and wear the traditional (white) clothes for the rest of their lives.¹⁶

Swami Dayanand followed the ideals of the ancient *Rishis* and also agreed with most of the do's and don'ts prescribed in the famous *Manu Smriti*, which is evident from his *Satyarth Prakash*. Second or third marriage after the death of husband or wife was disapproved by the *Rishis* (Manu is supposed to lay this condition on widows only).¹⁷ Manu made an exception for a second marriage only in case of a man or woman who had simply gone through the ceremony of marriage but whose marriage had not been consummated. Even this marriage was prohibited in the case of twice-born men or women.¹⁸ The widows or widowers were allowed to adopt a child of their own caste, so as to ensure a continuation of their family and eliminate the danger of adultery. Those however who could not control their passions might get children by having recourse to *Niyoga*.¹⁹

Swami Dayanand felt that child widowhood is a curse on society. That is why during his lectures at Poona and Bombay he advocated widow remarriage.²⁰

The Arya Samaj was not in favour of *Niyoga*. In fact during the life time of Swami Dayanand this word totally disappeared, because it was not practicable in modern conditions of life.

In 1856 widow remarriage act was passed with the efforts of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. However, this law remained inoperative for decades, till the Arya Samaj came into the field and gave a strong impetus to the widow remarriage movement.²¹ In Punjab, the Amritsar Arya Samaj took the initiative by performing widow remarriage of an Arora couple in September, 1885. The Arya Samaj branch of Lahore also started performing widow remarriages of their daughters and close relatives.

When Diwan Sant Ram Chopra who belonged to a well-known family of Punjab celebrated the marriage of his widow daughter it was attended by prominent persons of many different religious convictions and none dared to oppose it.²² Even the orthodox and typical Sanskritists were encouraged by the Arya Samaj to remarry their widow daughters. Pandit Vishwa Nath, a Kanyakubj Brahman and Pandit Bhagwan Din, remarried their widow daughters.²³

The most remarkable work in this field was done by Shri Ganga Ram, a wealthy man and prominent worker of Arya Samaj from Lahore. He opened "Vidhwa Vivah Sahayak Sabha" in 1915. This sabha opened its branches throughout India. The expenses were met by Ganga Ram himself and partly through contributions. Upto the year 1926 the total number of marriages arranged by this sabha was 6,334. Out of this 1,162 widow remarriages were conducted in the Brahman community, 1,243 among Kshatriyas, 1,424 among Aroras, 558 among Aggarwals, 204 among Kayasthas, 453 among Rajputs, 339 among Sikhs and 951 marriages in other communities.²⁴ Some other agencies like *Bharat Istri Mandal*, *Vidhwa Vivah Sahayak Sabha* and *Mahila Milap Samiti* were also established by the Arya Samajists to encourage widow remarriage.

Arya Samaj took another step to help the widows by founding widow houses in Punjab, Utter Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Central Provinces. These widow houses are also managed and financed by Shri Ganga Ram Trust.²⁵

Purdah, Dowry, Polygamy and Sati

In ancient India the society was mostly free from social evils like purdah, dowry, polygamy and sati. Women enjoyed equality with men. The performance of daily as well as periodic sacrifices was the most important religious obligation; no *Yajna* or *Havan* was considered complete without the presence of women. During the post-Vedic age, however, women lost their status; they were ill-treated and led a life of subjection both at home and outside.²⁶ This position continued during the entire medieval period.

The fate of women, however, changed with the coming of Dayanand Saraswati and the Arya Samaj. He raised his voice against *purdah*. The Swami believed that equal education and equal rights cannot be given to women till they are in *purdah* and are confined within the four walls of the house.²⁷

Arya Samaj also discouraged the *purdah*. It took necessary steps to remove this evil. Under the leadership of Saria Devi and Poorni Devi women were invited to attend the meetings of Arya Samaj. Arya Samaj League for women came into existence which imparted education to women and also taught them not to live in *purdah*.²⁸

Another social evil prevalent in the 19th century was that of dowry at the marriage of a daughter by her parents. A man who belonged to the middle class and happened to be the father of two or three girls was constantly worried about the expenses he would have to incur in connection with their marriage. Swami Dayanand raised his voice against the receiving of gifts from the parents of a bride at the time of marriage.²⁹

The Arya Samaj educated the people against dowry through their Anti Dowry Campaign. "Arya Kumar Sabha" was formed by the youngmen of Arya Samaj who took a vow not to take dowry at the time of their marriages. According to the report of Deputy Commissioner, Gurgaon, "Arya Samaj has decreased the expenses on marriage and other social ceremonies."³⁰ Needless to say, the Arya Samaj's campaign against dowry proved a blessing for the daughters of those poor people who were not in a position to give dowry at their marriage.

The custom of polygamy had become common in Indian society. It was probably one of the factors contributing to the deterioration of the status of women in the family and society. It gave birth to the custom of female slavery. Swami Dayanand

Saraswati opposed polygamy and advocated monogamy. He was of the view that according to the injunctions of the *Vedas* and the *Shastras* among the twice-born, a man or a woman may marry only once, never a second time.³¹ But the widows and widowers were exempted from this stipulation.

The Arya Samaj waged a war against polygamy so that the status of the women could be improved in the family. It warned people against polygamy and described it as the "religion of animals."³²

The total ban on widow remarriage perhaps led to the custom of *Sati*. Many young widows preferred to burn themselves on the pyre of their dead husbands rather than face the ordeal of life-long widowhood. The Arya Samaj condemned *Sati*, and it encouraged the widows to remarry.³³

Women's Education

As already indicated above a number of social evils like child marriage, forced widowhood, purdah, dowry and polygamy had become the bane of the society of the nineteenth century. Swami Dayanand and his Arya Samaj were generous and bold in their crusade to improve the condition of women. Both advocated the emancipation of women, and stressed the importance of educating women. Like Annie Besant, they believed that the regeneration of India was possible only through the proper education of its women.

In the third chapter of *Satyarth Parkash*, Swami Dayanand propounded that proper and equal education should be given to females and males, because if men were educated and women uneducated or *vice-versa* then the house would be a place of constant warfare and there would be no happiness.³⁴ He inspired women to get education, by quoting examples from ancient Indian history. In his own words, "The Kshatriya women in ancient India used to be well acquainted even with the military sciences, or how could they have gone with their male relations and fought side by side with them in battle fields, as Kekai did with her royal husband, Dashartha."³⁵ He further advised that it behoved Brahman and Kshatriya women to acquire all kinds of knowledge, and Vaish women to learn trade, and the mechanical art of cooking.³⁶ He was of the view that women like men should learn Grammar, Medical Science, Mathematics and the Mechanical Arts which are necessary for their married life.

Taking all these points into consideration, the Arya Samaj opened a number of educational institutions for imparting education to women. During the life time of Swami Dayanand in 1880, the Amritsar branch of Arya Samaj took the first step towards opening a girls' school. In 1885 it established three girls' schools.³⁷ Similar attempts were also made by the Arya Samajists of Ferozepur, Lahore and Jullundur.

In December, 1886 the Antrang Sabha of Jullundur Arya Samaj passed a resolution to open the *Zenana* (women) schools. A primary school was established at Jullundur. Mai Ladi was appointed its teacher. However, due to lack of funds, this school had to be closed.³⁸ But with the untiring zeal of Lala Dev Raj and Munshi Ram (later on Swami Shardhananda), two prominent members of Jullundur Arya Samaj, a girls' school was opened at Jullundur in 1890, known as *Arya Kanya Pathshala*. In 1893 it was raised upto the standard of High School. In 1896 the Managing Committee of the School felt the need of higher education for women and decided to upgrade the school to degree level. It was known as Kanya Mahavidyalaya. At this time some of the Arya Samajists opposed imparting higher education to women which ultimately led to a split in the Arya Samaj.³⁹ Besides education in Religion, Sanskrit, English, Mathematics, Music and Hindi, practical domestic economy, tailoring, embroidery and first aid were treated as necessary subjects.⁴⁰ A Kanya Ashram, i.e. girls' boarding house was also constructed for girls coming to the college from the different parts of the country.⁴¹ Presently, the Kanya Mahavidyalaya is a premier educational institution imparting education to women.

Another premier institution imparting higher education to women is Hansraj Mahila Mahavidyalaya at Jullundur. It was founded at Lahore in 1927 by Lala Hans Raj (Principal of D.A.V. College, Lahore) with the aim to impart higher education to women of the area. In 1939 it was upgraded to degree level. It imparted education in both Sciences and the Humanities. After the partition of India, it was shifted to Jullundur.⁴² At present, it is being run by the D.A.V. Managing Committee New Delhi. Besides these two centres of higher education Arya Samaj has also spread the net of Public, Primary, High, Higher-Secondary Schools, Degree Colleges and Technical Institutions in India and abroad.⁴³

Thus the contribution of Arya Samaj in emancipating women regarding child marriage, widowhood, purdah, polygamy, dowry, sati or women's education was seminal and noteworthy. If it had not been for the Arya Samaj the women would still be in the clutches of insane orthodoxy and degradation. However much remains to be done. The process of reform initiated by Arya Samaj needs further strengthening and consolidation at various levels.

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Swami Dayanand's Way of Reformation— A Historical Perspective

Nazer Singh

Covering his Banaras visit, Dr. Rodolf Hoernle, Principal of Banaras Sanskrit College, observed about Swami Dayanand (1824-83) in March, 1870, thus :

He devoted himself entirely to the study of the *Vedas* from his eleventh year, and thus he is more practically conversant with them than most, if not all, of the great pandits of Banaras, who generally know them only at second hand, or even less. At any rate, and this is the most remarkable feature distinguishing him from other pandits, he is an independent student of the *Vedas*, and free from the trammels of traditional interpretation .. It can be no wonder, therefore, that his Vedic studies, conducted in that spirit (of rejecting the later-day commentaries on the *Vedas* N.S.), led him to the conviction that almost the whole of the (comparatively) modern Hinduism is in entire and irreconcilable contradiction with the *Vedas* and the Hinduism of Vedic times, about 2000 years ago ... Briefly, his object is to replace Hindu society exactly into the same state as it was about 2,000 years ago, when, as yet, none of six philosophical systems existed, nor any of the eighteen *Purans*, the sources of modern Hinduism with its castes and idolatry; but when the *Vedas* and Vedic usages reigned supreme, and when one God only was adored, and the *Vedas* only were studied, and the sacrifice of the *homa* only with its elaborate ceremonial, was performed by the priest for himself and soldier and the peasant. At least, this is fond dream of the reformer.¹

Hoernle further tells us that Dayanand's conception of the *Vedas* was not so new. It was a part of the traditional Hindu canon known to the Pandits even before the Swami. However, Dayanand differed from the Pandits in their definition of the *Vedas*. Hoernle writes :

Dayanand acknowledge only the present *Vedas*, and what can be proved from them; the other Pandits, on the contrary, believe and assert the previous existence of many other Vedic writings, which

they say have perished, and which, they assume contained the complete proof for every *shastra* and every thing in Hinduism which cannot be supported by the now existing *Vedas*.²

Dayanand learnt this canon at the grammar school of Swami Virjanand Saraswati (1799-1886) in Mathura between 1860-63.³ Virjanand taught him that all those Hindu works upon whom the ancient commentators like Shankaracharya and Patanjali had not commented upon were *anarsha* i.e. works composed not by the *rishis*. The works of *rishis* or *arsha* were the only genuine and authoritative works for the study of Hinduism. The *arshas* were devoted to OM or ATMA, the universal spirit. Hence they stood for universal religion of Hinduism. Contrary to it, the *anarshas* were man-made, they extolled individual dieties, and hence they were sectarian. It was the duty of every learned man, Virjanand taught Dayanand, to preach the works of the *rishis*. Virjanand himself attempted to accomplish this task partly with the help of British administration in Mathura.⁴ Though he was hardly a success in this regard, yet he succeeded in implanting firmly in Dayanand's mind the idea of having a supra-sectarian Hindu organisation to reform Hinduism and Hindu society.

Dayanand's iconoclastic attitude towards the Puranic and Bhakti Hindu cults, as well as towards Jainism, Buddhism, and Sikhism was partly because of this basic teaching of Virjanand underlying an urge for the unification (purification) of religion in India. However, this urge was neither peculiar to Virjanand alone nor so sudden in its emergence in India. According to P.J. Marshal, the belief in the one time purity, oneness and greatness of Hinduism was inherent in the very method of late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries missionary and orientalist scholarship including those of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.⁵ The Society was founded in 1784. Referring to this European belief, Marshal writes :

The men of 1784 could not but see India through Christian eyes. For instance, this showed itself in their determination to find parallels between Judaism and Hinduism or to make Jewish and Hindu Mythological history fit together at almost any price. But where Christian preoccupations left perhaps their most enduring and deepest mark on the early study of India was in the assumption of western scholars that all religions must have essential similarities to Christianity. All religions were expected to have formal structures of fixed doctrines resting on canonical authority and enforced by a priestly hierarchy. Hinduism was presumed to be such a religion. However baffling and complex its present state might be there must be an inner coherence, a 'pure' Hinduism from which those who apparently worshipped so many different divinities in so many different cults had deviated.⁶

On the Indian side, this urge expressed itself through the writings of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the early Brahmos who were quick to point out, borrowing from Jones and Colebrook, that the *Vedas* were the first and the original source of Hindu culture. The Brahmos believed, at least initially, in the revelation of the *Vedas*. Further, the Vedic studies in both France and England had underlined the significance of the *Vedas* as the books of religion and philosophy. Max Muller would trace all religion in the world to the *Vedas*.⁷ The *Vedas* were fastly acquiring a dual character; they were becoming the books of original Hinduism as well as first works of the religion of Man. In turn, Hinduism was becoming a religion i.e. one organized system of religious beliefs and doctrines, and a religion of the 'Book'.

The Orientalists, especially the Sanskritists like Halhed and Jones, proclaimed the pre-eminence of Sanskrit and its literature.⁸ Halhed and Colebrook treated Sanskrit as the mother of all Indian languages and dialects. The Orientalists employed Dev Nagri for writing Sanskrit. It enhanced the prestige of Nagari viz-a-viz other Indian alphabets. Attempts were made to develop 'Hindi' at the Fort William College, Calcutta. Sanskritists like Colebrook identified 'Hindi' with Hindvi i.e. 10th century A.D. speech of North India. It was said to be pre-Islamic and pan-regional dialect of the Hindus. This identification made Urdu 'a Muslim dialect', and it treated the regional languages of India such as Punjabi, Gujrati, Sindhi, Marathi, Oriya, Bengali etc. as the local speech forms of 'Hindi'. The Anglicist onslaught launched by William Bentinck's regime in the 1830's against the Asian classical languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian and their literatures forced some of the Orientalists to take up the defence of Indian languages and scripts. H. H. Wilson defended Sanskrit. Hodgson spoke of the urgency of developing regional languages for popular education. The issue of script came to the fore when Charles Trevelyan proposed the application of Roman Alphabet to all Indian languages in 1834.⁹ Following Trevelyan, Alexander Duff, the ambitious missionary in Bengal, took the cause of Roman Characters. These proposals of Macaulay and Trevelyan pained the more sensitive among Bengalis like Ramkamal Sen. The latter felt concerned with the future of the 'Asiatic letters'. Sen was a friend of Wilson.

Wilson was conscious of the patriotic concern of the Indians for their scripts and languages and he tried to channelize it constructively by opening the doors of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to the Indians in January 1829. About half a dozen Bengalis, mostly Hindus, became its members.¹⁰ Again it was Wilson who gave a new orientation to the researches done by the Society in the 1850's. It was an orientation in favour of Sanskrit studies, and it had an underlying assumption that Sanskrit literature was the national literature of India; Persian was 'foreign' to India as Arabic and Muslims were strangers and intruders of Indian civilization and culture.¹¹ For

the Sanskritists like Wilson there was no distinction between civilization and culture on the one hand, and between culture and religion on the other hand.

The Sanskrit revival guided by Wilson through the Asiatic Society of Bengal greatly strengthened the antimissionary party within the Brahmos. Led by Ramkamal Sen, Radhakant Deb, Devendernath Tagore and Rajnarayan Bose, the party considered Brahmo Samaj as essentially a Hindu and a religious organization.¹² It defended Sanskrit against English, Devanagari against Roman Characters and it sought to Sanskritize Bengali. It was opposed to the social radicalism of the British Indian State represented by the abolition of Sati. Its first organized expression was the Dharm Sabha, and later the Adi Brahmo Samaj. The Sanskrit studies soon found an Indian exponent of British Orientalism in the person of Babu Rajinder Lal Mitra who joined the Asiatic Society in 1846. For over 40 years from 1846, he remained active in the social, literary, educational and political movements in Bengal. He was perhaps the first Indian to advocate the cause of Indian language and script against the introduction of Roman Characters in the Indian schools and courts. His defence of Devanagari was remarkable for its political basis and cultural nationalism. Through the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he told the British rulers in 1864:

One great cause of complaint in Poland, Hungary, Schelwig-Holstein and Austrian Italy is the attempt on the part of the conquerors to force their languages on the subject races, by introducing them into the courts of those countries, and a similar course in India, even if confined to alphabet alone, will, I apprehend, prove a like source of discontent.¹³

Referring to the rationale for his apprehensions Mitra wrote :

The Hindus regard their alphabet to be of divine origin (Deva Nagari) and a gift from the Godhead. With it is associated their religion, their literature, and their ancient glory. To touch it is to meddle with their religion, their past greatness and their cherished recollections.¹⁴

Then giving the source of his rationale, Mitra continued:

The Germans are more highly civilized and more intelligent than any modern Asiatic race, and yet they have, up to this time, notwithstanding the experience of centuries, failed to appreciate the superiority of the slim Roman to the cumbrous German type. The Hindus cannot but force infinitely more obtuse. It has been said that a patriotic feeling for their ancient characters prevents the Germans from adopting the Roman letters. If so, (and most pro-

bably it is so) how much stronger must that feeling be in the Hindus in favour of the alphabet in which is prescribed their ancient and much revered *Vedas*, and which is the repository of all their correspondence, accounts and title deeds.¹⁵

Significantly, it was a time when S.W. Fallon and F.S. Growse were demanding the simplification of Hindustani by excluding Arabic and Persian words from it. The process also meant the induction of more and more Sanskrit words in it. The inspiration for this purification of 'Hindustani' or 'Hindi' certainly came from the example of German that had developed by absorbing "very little of the Latin or other foreign elements".¹⁶ Noting it, John Beames recorded that German met "the wants of civilization and progress by combinations of indigenous words, rather than by borrowing. In other words it has done what our purists wish the Hindustani to do".¹⁷ Germany had started casting its shadow over Indian political thinking from its very beginning.

It was under the impact of this Sanskrit revival that a major part of Bengal intelligentsia failed to make distinction between religion and culture, between language and script; and between language and religion, and between culture and nation. The idea of three fold unity of religion, language and nationalism symbolized by Rajinderlal Mitra's advocacy of Devanagari was a Bengali gift to Dayanand. The gift was manufactured by the German and Indian Sanskritists, and it was presented to Dayanand on the latter's visit to Calcutta during 1872.¹⁸

Contempt for the things foreign be, that language, religion, or polity was an essential ingredient of this patriotism. However, the British and Christianity alone were not foreigners. The Muslims and their languages and script were also so. Both Hindu religion and Sanskrit were grand, their local and popular forms and 'modern' developments were inconsequential. They were to be condemned and rejected in favour of the *Vedas* and Sanskrit and Sanskritic Nagri (Hindi) for the speedy recovery of *Aryavarta* for *Swadeshi* Raj. *Vedas* contained all science—the science of religion as well as science of matter. It would be learnt by the proper knowledge of Sanskrit, and the proper knowledge of Sanskrit was acquired with the aid of linguistic tools provided by the grammars of Panini and Patanjali. And without this proper knowledge, *Dharma* could not be produced or availed of. All other ways of *Dharma* were false. They were to be exposed, refuted and rejected.¹⁹

The emphasis upon the defence of Vedic religion and Sanskrit language by Dayanand needs further explanation. For one thing, this defence stood for the presumed inseparability of religion and language. This presumption alone had a tremendous significance for linguistic and religious conflict in modern India.

Dayanand and more so the Arya Samaj is usually charged of communalizing language issue in north India, especially in Punjab, on the ground that he had a religious approach towards language. Following this approach the Hindus in Punjab under the impact of Arya Samaj and Hindu Sabha movements are said to 'disown' Punjabi for Hindi.²⁰ This disowning created cleavages between the Hindus and Sikhs. The way this argument is presented makes it appear as if this attitude of the Aryas was consciously directed against the Sikhs and Punjabi alone. For example, Khushwant Singh calls this disowning of Punjabi by the Hindus of Punjab as 'the chief cause of Sikh uneasiness in free India'.²¹ Khushwant Singh wrote it in 1966 and the argument finds echos in more than one work after him. In fact, the echo has been getting stronger in recent years.

The protagonists of disowning thesis ignore two elements in the historical situation in which the Samaj took its position on language. First, Dayanand and his Samaj were not the first either to glorify or identify Hindi in Nagari script as a Hindu language. Both these things were done by the Sanskritists like William Jones and H.T. Colebrook, the orientalist associated with the Asiatic Society of Bengal.²² It happened during the first quarter of the 19th century. The British Indian state popularized the idea of writing 'Hindi' in Nagari through the Fort William College Calcutta in the 1820's. It was at the Fort William College that the speech of north India as well as its dominant literary expression (Urdu) was split into two forms, Urdu and Hindi. The obvious purpose for the British then was to reinforce the Hindu-Muslim cleavage by extending it from religion to language.

The British move to encourage the use of regional languages in general, and the splitting of Hindustani into Hindi and Urdu in particular were aimed at questioning the supremacy of Persian in India. By telling the Hindus that they had their own language and own script to write the speech of north India, the British wanted the Hindus to disown Persian and its literature containing the ideas related to the Mughal polity. The objective here was to weaken the Mughal political and cultural hegemony. The position of Persian was further undermined when the Muslims in India were encouraged to develop Urdu by employing it for education and socio-religious reforms of their own community. It was secured through Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his 'Aligarh Movement'. Persian ceased to be the language of even Muslims in India. Finally it was abolished in 1837 on the ground that it was alien to India.

After Persian came the turn of Sanskrit. In 1840's attempts were made to undermine Sanskrit and discredit Nagari in two ways. First, English was imposed as the language of new system of education and administration. Secondly, a group of Missionaries and Anglicists sought to replace Indian scripts by the Roman letters.²³ The defence of Sanskrit and Nagari thus became a political and 'national' issue. This defence came from the Brahmos like Rajinderlal Mitra. The bloody events of 1857 helped them.²⁴ The great uprising put a brake on the anti-Sanskrit policy of

the Anglicists as the British regime still needed the support of non-Muslims to consolidate its shaken position at the hands of Mutineers most of whom were led really or allegedly by the Muslim Chiefs of Hindustan.

The Sanskrit and Nagari revival in the 1860's was a pan-regional phenomenon. The 'nationalist' enthusiasm underlying it was so strong that even in Bengal where love for Bengali and sentiment for popular forms of speech was quite great sometimes men talked of regional languages including Bengali in derogatory terms.²⁵ The latter were seen as hindering the unification of India and its emergence as a 'nation'. The imperialist propaganda that India could never be a nation because of its religious and linguistic diversity was met by the early 'nationalists' by proclaiming that India had one language in Sanskrit. From this claim stemmed the 'nationalist' desire to see as much vernaculars written in Nagari as it was possible as well as the desire to see as much languages Sanskritized as it was feasible. The 'nationalist' aim was to minimize linguistic diversity. Obviously, they had not a very positive attitude towards regional languages of India in general and less developed regional languages in particular.

This endeavour for possibly one language for whole India was visible in Bengal by 1872-73, the years Dayanand visited Calcutta and met the leading Brahmo and other Bengali reformers.²⁶ The latter successfully impressed upon him the necessity of popularizing Nagari by adopting it as the medium of his preachings.

One may doubt the rationality of this search for a common language for whole of India. In fact, its practicability was doubtful from its beginning. For example, John Beames noted with regret in 1868 that the lovers of Bengali, Sindhi, and Marathi were reluctant to the very idea of one language for whole India.²⁷ They were opposed to Urdu, the only language capable of being an all India one. The advocacy of Nagari Hindi was another attempt to destroy Urdu. In fact, a common language (Urdu) was being destroyed rather than created by the advocates of Hindi.

However, notwithstanding its irony or irrationality, it is very difficult to treat the advocacy of Nagari by the Arya Samaj as something exclusively anti-Sikh or anti-Punjabi. Nevertheless, the Aryas only fought a lost battle so far as the language question is concerned.

Secondly, one should not forget that Swami Dayanand was a traditional scholar of Sanskrit. The legacy of classical Sanskrit grammarians like Panini and Patanjali was dearest to him. His mode of knowledge was that of a classicist grammarian incapable of making a distinction between 'word' and 'Dharma' i.e. between language and religion. It was because the purpose of a scholar (grammarian) was in accordance with the classical tradition, the preservation of 'correct language' without which one

could not have a correct or true *Dharma*.²⁸ This tradition had little respect for linguistic and religious evolution. It was hardly appreciative of languages other than Sanskrit, and of religions other than Vedic tradition. This highly scholastic tradition had an inbuilt negative attitude towards popular forms of speech and religion. It was hostile to the idea of preaching *Dharma* through any language other than Sanskrit. It was least appreciative of Indian reformers (Buddhists, Jains and others) because they had preached through 'Prakrits' i.e. down-graded varieties of language. An incorrect or corrupt language could not produce a correct or valid *Dharma*, says this tradition.

It is in this background that one should see Dayanand's view of Guru Nanak and the language of his teachings, Punjabi. However, the failure of Swami to appreciate Sikhism and Punjabi was more the failure of a tradition than an individual. Ancient traditions have universally a limited relevance for modern life.

Further, nothing would be more incorrect than to always identify the Swami with the Samaj. Making a distinction between the two, Lajpat Rai says :

The beliefs of Swami Dayanand were tactitly accepted as the doctrines of the Arya Samaj and formed its propaganda.²⁹

Moreover, the ideas of Dayanand such as social, religious and political regeneration of India to be achieved by putting Hindu society on the Vedic principles, and which came as they were in totality only towards the fag end of his life, were not to "constitute a programme, but an ideal."³⁰ Concious of the fact that his ideals could not easily be realized, he demanded from the Aryas a practical and immediate reform action. Left to himself the social programme of the traditionally enlightened Dayanand was a matter of conversion of both the Hindus and non-Hindus to Vedic or Aryan religion. A Vedic fundamentalist he was unsurpassable in fundamentalism, at least theoretically, even by the Christian fundamentalists. But as a modern man Dayanand left it to his followers to shape his ideas in accordance with their own needs. His followers of the Arya Samaj exercised this option in more than one sphere. Polity was the one sphere in which they differed from the Swami nearly completely. If the adherence to English language and European system of education by the predominant section of the Arya Samaj called 'the College Party' is to be taken as an indicator of the freedom of the Aryas to tailor Dayanand's doctrines to suit their needs then language will be another sphere where the Swami was followed never perfectly. In fact, language is the sphere where the founder of Arya Samaj himself betrayed the tradition he was claiming to champion. Compromise was not totally alien to the Swami, and more so to the Samaj.

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Swami Dayanand : A Champion of Women's Cause

Manjul Gupta

Swami Dayanand was a man of many facets. He was all in one—a teacher, a preacher, a social reformer, a religious leader, a freedom fighter, and an educationist. But here we are mainly concerned with his social reforms in regard to women only. Before looking at his advocacy of women's cause it is desirable to look at the position of women in an historical perspective.

In the old Vedic age women's condition was generally like that of men. They were regarded as equal of men, and no sacrifice or religious act could be performed without their presence. Women also studied like men and took part in social, economic, political and religious life. There were examples of women like Gargi, Maitri, Lopamudra, Sachi, Paulomi, Sulabha etc. who were 'brahmavadinis' like men and there were also women rishis who composed 'mantras'. Women like Kaikeyi helped their husbands in the battlefield. But with the passage of time their position deteriorated. They have been often abused in the Puranas.

Tulsidasa ranked them with the drum, animal and a rustic who needed beating. Even Shankara calls them a door to hell. It was believed that their main duty was to marry and to produce children and to serve their husbands. According to Kautilya women are to bear children only. In the opinion of Manu marriage rite is the *Saniskara* for women, serving the husband is living in the *Ashrama* and fire of home is *Agnihotra*. In the middle ages it further deteriorated as is seen in *Vijñesvara Tika* on *Yajñavalakya Smṛiti*, 'A woman should not go out of the home without permission, not to go without wrapping a sheet, nor to talk to any man except businessman, ascetic and old doctor, should cover herself upto heel, not to laugh without covering her mouth (i.e. suppressed laughter) and never to make contact with bad women.' With the Muslim invasions their living in seclusion and *purdah* was further intensified.

At the time of Swami Dayanand, in the 19th century, their condition was no better. Rather it was very miserable and hopeless. Girls were denied the right of education and study of Vedas, nor could they go to schools to get regular education. They were not allowed to wear the sacred thread or move freely like men. *Purdah* system was prevalent and girls were married at an early age; women did not have the right to marry of their own choice. They were considered inferior to men regarding rights in property. There were a large number of widows whose plight was pitiable.

They were often driven to accept Islam or Christianity due to their miserable condition. They were economically, socially and physically exploited. Then, there was sati system also. Thus women held a very inferior position in society. When Swami Dayanand appeared on the scene reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Vidyasagar and others had started making efforts in this direction. Raja Ram Mohan Roy opposed sati system. Vidyasagar and others stressed on widows' remarriage. Swami Dayanand was a social thinker and he believed in action. He tried to liberate women from all taboos and inhuman restrictions imposed upon them. With enormous force, authority and logic he advocated the cause of women. As Romain Rolland writes about him, "Dayanand was no less generous and bold in his crusade to improve the condition of women, deplorable in India. He revolted against the abuses from which they suffered."²

The ideas and arguments that Swamiji advanced in support of women's cause may be broadly studied under these heads namely, education, marriage and social status of women.

EDUCATION :

Swamiji propagated the equality of boys and girls in the field of education.³ When boys and girls are of five years, they should be taught the Devanagari characters. After that they should be taught to learn by heart Vedic mantras with their meanings including Gayatri verse with its meaning and also such verses, aphorisms, prose passages and poems as contain nice and salutary instruction, advice and morals and which teach how to behave towards deity, parents, teacher, guest and others. He, further elaborating it, writes, "as in the absence of knowledge no body obtains graciousness, therefore, when the boys and girls are eight years old they should be sent to schools, boys to boys' institutions and girls to girls' institutions."⁴ It is evident here that Swamiji was not in favour of co-education or that girls should study in boys' schools or viceversa. He strictly lays down that institutions of boys and girls should be situated two miles away from each others. Teachers possessing bad conduct should not be allowed to teach children. They alone are fit for teaching and training who are thoroughly learned and righteous. Not only boys but also girls should be invested with a sacred thread. Not only the boys and girls should be taught in separate institutions but the institutions meant for boys should have male staff, teachers, servants and attendants and the institutions meant for girls should have female staff including teachers, servants etc. He went to the extent of saying that a boy of even five years of age should not be allowed to enter a female school, nor a girl of the same age into the school of boys.

In other words so long as the pupils are not married (brahmacharis and brahmacharinis) and observing the vow of chastity, they should keep themselves away from eyeing each other, touching, embracing, talking

talking or listening to love stories, sporting with one another, thus avoiding the eight kinds of vices of carnality.

A mother should educate the child upto the fifth year, and the father from 6th to 8th. At the commencement of the ninth year, invested with sacred thread, and the Shudras, without it, they should send their sons and daughters to the *Gurukulas*, to be taught by the great learned men and women. But it should be a king's rule or national custom that no child is kept at home after the age of five or eight, otherwise, they should be liable to punishment. 'Kanyanam Sampradanam Ca Kumaranam Ca raksanam,' (Manu VI, 152).

Swamiji stressed on the equality of education. Whether the students are the sons or daughters of a king or the children of the poor, they should be treated alike with regard to the supply of food, drink, shelter and seats to them, and the schools be a league or four miles away from the vicinity of a town or city, so that they may not be affected in their academic career. Following this line of thought he strongly refuted the view of those who denied the right of education and of studying Vedas and the scriptures to women and Shudras with the statement "Stri Sudrau nadhiyatam."⁵

To the opponents of women's education, Swamiji answered that "Stri Sudrau Nadhiyatam" is a fabrication, not found in any authentic scripture. On the other hand the verses of the *Yajurveda* explicitly support the right of all persons to read and to listen to the expounding of the Vedas and other scriptures. The Lord himself said, "we have revealed the Vedas for the brahmanas, ksatriyas, vaisyas, sudras and our servants, women and very low castes, that is, all the people should read and teach the Vedas, listen to and read them to others, so as to improve their knowledge, to adopt the virtuous course of conduct, to eschew vicious habits, to get rid of distress and to obtain happiness."⁶ As God has created natural objects and other things for all beings, so He has revealed Vedas for all. Swamiji rebukes the opponents of women's education in these strong words, "It is a proof of your ignorance, selfishness and stupidity that you prohibit women from studying."⁷ He quotes Vedas in support of girls' education : 'Brahmacaryena Kanya yuvanam vindate patim,'⁸ i.e. "boys who acquire perfect knowledge and good training by observing the vow of chastity, and, when of age, should marry maidens, youthful, educated, lovely, suitable, equal to them; let girls also acquire perfect knowledge and the best training by studying the Vedas and other scriptures during their vow of chastity and attaining puberty and full majority marry bachelors, youthful, handsome, educated and equal to them." Also 'Imam mantram patni pathet' proves that if she had not studied the Vedas, and other scriptures, she would not be able to read the Vedic verses with fluent pronunciation and proper annotation and converse in Sanskrit on the occasion of worship. To those who opposed women's education on the ground that when educated they would insult the husbands and commit adultery, he replied that it proved that

a man should also not read because after becoming learned he would also insult the women and would enjoy the company of other women.⁹ Moreover, if the master of the house was educated and his wife uneducated or vice versa, there would everyday be a war between gods and devils in the house. In *Vedabhasya* also Swamiji stressed upon the importance and utility of women's education thus, "The maidens should increase their intellect by grasping completely the knowledge and good education through vow of chastity;"¹⁰ "o king, may you appoint women of pure knowledge to teach the girls so that these girls after attaining knowledge and education and becoming young, marry loving, good persons of their choice, may produce good persons;" "the maidens who study Vedas with their branches by long vow of chastity may strive for prosperity." Not only primary knowledge of letters or general education is needed for women, they have to master the education of Vedas with their parts and subsidiaries and are not to be left behind men. He prescribes for women the same curriculum as for men. Women should acquire knowledge suited to their varana or class. The Brahmana women and warrior class women should learn all branches of knowledge, the merchant class women should acquire commercial knowledge and the servile class women should know the culinary art and the duties of service. Like men who must at least learn something of grammar, religion and ethics, women should also learn grammar, religion, medicine, arithmetic, handicraft, as a matter of course, for without the knowledge of these arts, they cannot distinguish right from wrong, behave themselves agreeably towards husbands and other relatives, beget children properly, nurture and train them, do or see the domestic duties done in a proper manner, cook or superintend the cooking of food and prepare medicine. Without the knowledge of handicraft, they cannot supervise the building of a house, make or inspect the making of suit, jewellery and other requisites, without the knowledge of arithmetic cannot keep or render accounts, and without the knowledge of Vedas and other scriptures cannot guard themselves against irreligion or vice. Jordens elaborates it thus, "Girls should learn at least five subjects—grammar, philosophy, medicine, music and art. They should study the Vedas and the Sastras, they should learn about the special skills their husbands need in their occupations and they should be informed about medicine, dietary science and book-keeping so that they can run the house perfectly. With such an education they would be able to undertake with competence their full share in both public and domestic life as the great women of ancient India used to do."¹² Satyaketu Vidyalkar adds that not only did he propose the knowledge of alphabets and general education but also stressed the study of medicine, politics, craft and physics.

Thus Swami Dayanand stressed upon the equal rights of women to education and elaborated its importance.¹³

He also suggested the age of vow of chastity for boys and girls. The least should

be 16 for girls and 25 for boys, and the best age is 24 for girls and 48 for boys. In between, if a man observes it upto 30, then a woman can do it upto 17, if a man has it upto 36, a woman may have it upto 18, when a man observes it till the age of 40, a woman should observe it upto 20, if a man has it upto 44, a woman should have it upto 22, if a man keeps it upto 48, then a woman should have it upto 24.¹⁴ The difference between the age of men and women suggested by Swamiji in the last category may prove helpful in family planning. Men and women who wish to remain unmarried may remain celibate till death. There is no restriction that only men can remain celibate. Women can also remain unmarried. These men and women however should have perfect control over their senses; they should be ascetics or *yogins*. But the persons who cannot live single should enter married life.

Marriage :

Swami Dayanand prefers marriage of men and women living at distant places because it is advantageous in many respects. The parties cannot receive help from their parents at the slightest quarrel; no ill fame is begotten; it is attended with happiness and health.¹⁵ The girl is called 'duhita' for this very reason, meaning, 'durhita', 'durehita', 'dogdherva'. He excludes ten families¹⁶ for matrimonial purposes, however rich these may be. A bride or bridegroom should not be selected from those families which perform no righteous acts, have no righteous persons, have neglected the study of the Vedas, whose members have long or thick hair on the body, who are subject to hemorrhoids, phthisis, asthma, cough, epilepsy, leprosy, elephantiasis and dyspepsia for marriage transmits these diseases and defects to marrying parties. Swamiji gives here a very sound, scientific and medically correct reason. In his view the youthful girls and boys of the best families should be united in marriage. Quoting from Manu (III/8, III/9) he forbids marriage with some girls having tawny colour, large size, having no hair or too much hair, having the strange names of trees, plants, birds, rivers etc. Jordens¹⁷ points out, "It is a strange list including some sensible criteria, but also some very irrational ones, like, exclusion of girls with too much hair on their body, with red heads and girls with ugly or inauspicious names." Swamiji was a very sensitive man, and he was aware of the subtle reactions that women with harsh names and disproportionate limbs may arouse and may thus become repulsive. He also reveals his aesthetic sense of beauty and sensitivity in preferring a girl with sleek, proportionate limbs, agreeable name, fine gate of a swan or she-elephant, with fine hair and teeth and having exquisite softness in her body.¹⁸ In his view that country is happy in which the best custom of marriage, chastity and vigorous pursuit of knowledge are observed. A country sinks in which there is no enforcement of chastity, no light of knowledge, and which has the custom of the marriage of infants or in early age or of unworthy and discordant couples.

He firmly opposed those persons who propagated early marriage of girls on the authority of *pārāsari* and *śighrabodha* verses, that 'eight years old girls become gauri

and so on' or that 'father, mother and brother, who see a rajaswalá (a woman in menses) at home, all become sinful and go to hell.'¹⁹ He opposed early marriage on medical grounds. A girl's marriage at the age of eight or ten is of no use. The best children are the fruits of women of 16 to 24 years old, when their uterus is perfectly developed and body is grown, strong and of men of 25 to 48 when their semen is mature and body is grown stout and strong. He supports his point with examples from the Vedas,²⁰ 'Yuva Suvááh ...' that youth becomes glorious and beneficial to the people at large who is sanctified in all respects and invested with the sacred thread; who has observed the vow of chastity and acquired sound knowledge and moral training; who being well dressed enters the family life after attaining majority and who has acquired merit in knowledge and reputation.

But those men and women who, without observing the rule of chastity and without acquiring knowledge and proficiency in the best moral culture, marry in early age are spoiled and ruined and they fail to secure an honourable position among learned persons. Like the cows not milked by anybody, let those perfectly youthful women undertake the responsibility of maternity who have passed infancy, who are able to accomplish all human works in the best possible way, who have passed girlhood or immaturity, who have attained perfect youth and acquired sound moral training, who derive intellectual pleasure from the teachings of the great scriptures of wisdom written by eminent scholars, who are noted for success in their vow of studentship and observance of its rules and who have married youthful husbands. Swamiji cautions women that they should in their early life never think of going to men. Marriage before puberty ruins the constitution of women more than that of men. Let them say, "I shall marry after having attained full growth and vigour of mind and body." (Rig, 81/179 M.) This point is stressed in *Vedbhāṣya*.²¹ also He observes²² that when the acquisition of knowledge during studentship ceased to be the rule and the contracting of marriage became the duty of parents, national degeneration and physical deterioration set in Aryavarta. Hence, the evil custom of early marriage should be given up by sensible people. The girls should have the right of selecting their husbands. He decries child marriage in *Sanskara Vidhi* also in strong words, "whoever not marrying in youth marry in childhood without consent and with an incompatible bride and bridegroom will be merged in ocean of sorrow."

Swamiji opposed unequal and forced marriages as they were bound to fail, and he stressed time and again on compatibility, equality of marrying parties and their mutual assent to marry. In support of his view that a girl should marry a man equal to herself, Swamiji has quoted Manu : "Let a damsel seek a husband equal to herself in qualifications, three years after her menstruations. It is better that a girl remains unmarried at her father's house than she should be ever given to a man devoid of qualities."²⁴ Bride and bridegroom should not be of repellent qualities, tendencies and nature. Therefore marriage before the prescribed time or between disparate

characters is improper. Satyaketu Vidyalkar, voicing Swami's thoughts, rightly points out that marriage should be on the basis of equality in attributes, nature etc.²⁵ Swamiji himself writes in *Sanskrit Vidhi* that the wise should give his daughter to him who is best, beautiful, equal to her. When a man and woman wish to marry they should look to each others' qualifications in respect of knowledge, modesty, manners, beauty, age, vigour, family stature and other merits. Unless there is harmony in the character of marrying parties, there cannot be any happiness in marriage.²⁶ The same point is stressed in *Vedbhāṣya* also.²⁷

Further, the marriage should be in the same class²⁸ to which the marrying parties belong. This should be based upon the principles of similarity in qualifications, habits and tempers, not by caste. The castes may be interchanged. A person of lower order, having the qualities of a higher order, may become brahmana and a brahmana may degenerate into a śūdr. The classification of social orders should be decided according to the degree of excellence and aptitude. In this way men and women will be able to live in peace as husbands and wives.

Swamiji preferred *svayamvara* system where boys and girls married of their own choice, not by the authority of parents.²⁹ One possible reason behind Swami's propagation of willing marriage was that he himself was forced to marry, and he had to leave his home. He expresses his view in no uncertain terms that the marriage should be the decision of boys and girls. If parents ever think to marry them it should not be without their assent, for the marriage contracted with their mutual consent is seldom attended with displeasure and disharmony. Moreover, marriage is mainly the concern of boy and girl, and not of parents. Therefore, *svayamvara* which was in vogue in Āryāvarta from time immemorial, is the best system of marriage. But, he warned, that young boys and girls should not be allowed to meet in secret as it was fraught with dangers. After six months of the completion of studentship when the time of marriage approaches, there should be a test. Descriptions or photographs of boys should be sent to the mistresses of girls' schools and of girls to the teachers of boys' schools. Their upto date biodata should be prepared to compare their habits, merits and tempers. When they decide to marry, they should be sent home. If they decide to marry before their teachers, it should be done there and then, otherwise at the place of girls' parents. When they are brought face to face, they should hold discussions or conversations on some topic in the presence of teachers, parents and a number of good people. If they ask for something private, it should be written on a piece of paper. Out of eight types of marriages, *brahma* is the best when boy or girl, having properly observed the rules of studentship, having acquired knowledge, are righteous and well-behaved and choose to be united in marriage happily and willingly.

Swamiji was keenly devoted to the cause of widows as their miserable condition touched his heart deeply. He was against polygamy and he did not favour plurality of

marriages at one time. But there could be more than one marriage at different times. Quoting Manu in his support he advocated remarriage for *aksatayoni* men and women: 'Men and women whose marriage ceremony is done only but who have not seen their consorts, i.e. women being virgins and men innocent of sex act should marry again. Also that if an *aksatayoni* woman becomes widow, then the younger brother of her deceased husband can marry her - *tamanena vidhanena nijo vindeta devarah*'.³⁰ Thus those girls who become widows at an early age without seeing their husbands could remarry. Indirectly the above statement also supports the remarriage and freedom from the shackles of marriage of those youths who were forced into arranged marriages. But he forbids remarriage of widows and widowers, born in degenerate class, who have had conjugal intercourse.²⁴ In his view remarriage or plurality of marriage was fraught with many problems, such as there would be little love between husband and wife because they would leave their consort whenever they liked and form connection with another person; would create problems and difficulties relating to property; the virtue of chastity of men and women would be destroyed. In a way this view of Swamiji goes against the principle of *Niyoga*. The marriage of men and women of the twice-born classes is permitted only once as per scriptures and Vedas,³² which according to him is proved by the use of singular in all Vedic verses. This very point is stressed in one of his letters,³³ 'one should not be allowed to contract more than one marriage and this should be for the happiness of both'. However, he knew all are not righteous in this world. There are many irreligious men who marry many women out of lust. Even when one has many wives, he should give them equal attention.⁵⁴ Although Swamiji did not favour remarriage and propagated *Niyoga* he was not totally opposed to the former. This can be gleaned from one of his lectures delivered at Poona.³⁵ He explained that it was not his intention to support those persons who were against the widow-remarriage. But Swamiji added, "I would say the men and women are equal in God's view because He does justice. When the men are permitted to remarry why not the women." In replying to Munshi Chandi Prasad he again supported the cause of widow re-marriage; 'A widow can remarry; and a man is not to marry when his first wife is alive, but after her death he has the option to marry or not to marry. A widow should also have such an option'. The same view is expressed in his Appendix³⁹ VIII of *Parā aur Vijnāpana*. Jordens³⁷ appreciating his stand writes, 'His denunciation of caste and his advocacy of the four varnas was not new but his vehement denunciation of child marriage and his strong support for widow remarriage certainly was.'

Swamiji saw injustice³⁸ in the marriage between a widow and a bachelor, or between a maid and a widower. As a man does not wish to marry a widow so does a maid not like to marry a married man. The marriage between the bachelors and the maids is founded on justice. It is proper that the like should be united with the

like. When a widow or a widower cannot remarry then they may resort to a compact, 'Niyoga'.

In the context of Niyoga, Jordens³⁹ writes about Dayanand; 'In fact Dayanand was more liberalizing than any 19th century reformer ever dared to be proposing a different type of temporary marital contact between the widows and the widowers, called Niyoga. The radical institution of Niyoga, is here, presented for the first time, and he was to advocate it till the end of his life. In his mind the theory had two basic starting points : his deep concern for the sorry state of widows and the fact that Vedas allowed in certain cases a widow to contract a temporary union with the brother of her deceased husband.' In Swamiji's opinion⁴⁰, duly supported by the authority of Rigveda and Manu, Niyoga may not only be contracted after the death of the consort for obtaining an issue, it may also be entered in the life-time of the husband for the following reasons: if he is absent for a long time, or becomes impotent or sterile, or becomes vile, oppressive and violent. Similarly, not only the widows may enter into Niyoga, but also the husband may have some strong reasons to supercede his living wife such as a long absence, hateful behaviour, drunkenness, disease, barrenness, inability to produce a male issue and acute quarrelsomeness. Swamiji preferred Niyoga⁴¹ (temporary marital union) to remarriage because of certain advantages such as at the time of contracting Niyoga the widow continues to live under the roof of her deceased husband's house, her sons inherit the property of her deceased husband, the contracting parties are not bound to serve and support each other; they perform the duties of their respective houses and they have not to live together; they separate when the purpose is served. The men and the women united in marriage can beget ten children but those contracting Niyoga can beget only four, not more⁴². If a woman compacts Niyoga for her interest, then it should terminate at the second pregnancy, if it is for the man's interest, then also, it should break at the second pregnancy; when it is entered for the interest of both, then at the fourth pregnancy. Swamiji always emphasized that it should be entered for the sake of obtaining issues only, not for carnal sports or lecherous desires. In his opinion if the parties continue to cohabit even after obtaining the issues they should be punished. Swami Dayanand did not consider sinful or shameful or an act of adultery the compact of Niyoga as there is none in a marriage⁴³. In his view, it was rather sinful to forbid it because as long as the men and the women are young, they wish to beget children and enjoy life. On being forbidden, due to the laws of the government or the customs of the society, they take recourse to evil practices and sinful acts in secret which result in greater sins like abortion, the destruction of foetus and greater misery to the widows and the widowers. The only best way to prevent adultery and wickedness is to exercise control over the senses, nay, even to avoid contracting remarriage or Niyoga also, if it is possible. In the other case they should be remarried and allowed to compact Niyoga in dire necessity. Adultery, prostitution, scandalisation of

noble families, discontinuance of the descent, the grievances of men and women and similar other sins are removed by the prevalence of marriage and Niyoga. But in his view, the Niyoga should be entered in the same Varna (class) or with men of superior orders and it should be celebrated like marriage with the sanction and approval of good people. It should be legal. He advocated Niyoga to improve the condition of widows. It is evident from his letters. In a letter⁴⁴ addressed to Babu Mulraj he writes, 'I have a mind to address our government on a subject which is unquestionably a matter of public good, now wished for by hundreds of men who have attended to my lectures. It is, that the government may be moved to pass a regulation by which children of widows be entitled to claim and obtain their rights of the property, both movable and immovable of their parents, and that anyone trying to injure the widow in any way be made liable to punishment by government. The results which I anticipate from the above are that the lives of thousands of children will be saved, miscarriages shall be minimised, or there would not be any at all. Niyoga or remarriage will thus be introduced at last.' He also made a legal draft for Niyoga about which he writes in another letter to Mulraj, 'I have made a legal draft to improve the sad plight of widows, its purpose will be Niyoga; the child of the widow will inherit the property of the deceased husband; they may not be treated as illegitimate or ostracised; the relatives of the widow may not harass her; may the law not inflict pain to her etc.' The same idea is expressed in his letters addressed to Rupa Singh.

Jordens⁴⁵ examines the limitations of Niyoga: 'Although, it testifies to the concern of the Swami, it also shows that Swami had little understanding of the complexity of marital and sexual problems. For him sex was intimately bound up with reproduction and he found it impossible to dissociate the two. The basic weakness of the whole structure is that Dayanand had taken an old tradition specifically designated for the narrow purpose of providing a son to a deceased husband and extrapolated it to solve the much wider problem of widowhood which touches on sexual, temperamental, social and economic matters.'

Satyaketu Vidyalkar⁴⁶ explains it in this way: "Dayanand Saraswati, who propagated Niyoga in place of remarriage of widows and widowers, does not fit in the present conditions of men. Many thinkers hesitate in accepting its propriety. But he was a 'Rishi' who could see far beyond. A time may come when it would be considered more useful than remarriage. And how true ! Really, the time has come now. Men and women of today do not wish to be shackled by marriage; Niyoga could prove a boon to them. However, seeing his time and the plight of widows, Swami Dayanand did not strictly oppose remarriage. Thus, being a seer, he was far advanced of his time."

Swami Dayanand propagated equality of men and women. He was in favour of women equally participating in public life as they used to do in ancient

Aryavarta. Satyaketu Vidyalankar⁴⁷ rightly remarks that in an age when the women did not have the right to vote in Europe, Maharshi proposed that women should participate with men in running the government and should also work like men in protecting the country, in administering justice, fighting battles. This becomes evident from his *Vedabhasya*⁴⁸: 'As the king has studied the political thought, the same should also be acquired by his queen. Both being devoted, husband and wife should nurture the people with justice. Being devoid of corruption, lust, religiously producing the children, the queen should do justice to the women and the king to the men.' Further, 'the government servants should see that in the work that they are doing, they should involve their women folk. The men doing justice to the men, their women should do the same to women,' 'Men can not do justice to women because a woman cannot speak and read well in the presence of men because of fear and timidity,' 'In the war, in the absence of the king, the queen should take charge of the army and as the king inspires the heroes to fight, so she should behave likewise,' 'The queen, knowing *dhanurveda* is expert in throwing missiles etc. should be respected by the heroic persons'. For this reason he advocated marriage in the same class so that women are skilled in the same profession as their husbands'. Women were to be writers, teachers also as it becomes clear from his *Vedabhasya*.⁴⁹ Swamiji stresses equality in virtue⁵⁰ also. Supporting his statement from Manu (41/238-240) he said, 'that men and women should gradually develop righteousness for the happiness in the next world, as a white ant by degrees builds its nest.' Swamiji believed that it was the duty of the husband and the wife to please each other, and to prevent each other from falling into bad habits.

He did not regard women as a thing of enjoyment only or that men should take latitude. Therefore, he condemns⁵¹ such sins and vices like adultery, whoring, womanizing again and again. As he writes, 'the most heart-rending acts are adultery, whoring, prostitution and similar sins. Drinking spirituous liquors, associating with evil persons, absence from her husband, rambling abroad uselessly with the pretext of paying respects to hypocrite monks, sleeping and dwelling in the house of another person are the six faults that bring infamy on married women, but these are also the faults of men.' For adultery he rebuked Jaswant singh⁵², condemned his association with the courtesan Nanni: 'Just as you have already given up the company of Ganeshpuri and his cronies who only teach evil things, why don't you likewise keep away from prostitutes and flattery?' He criticized the Raja of Jodhpur:⁵³ 'Even being wise, you indulge in these vices like drinking, going to whores, flying the kites, horse-racing, not devoting at least six hours to political matters, not loving your wives who are kindly maidens like Laxmis.' He advises that when a woman loves another man, the husband is afflicted, similarly a wife becomes very sad if the husband goes to another woman or to a whore and their sorrow destroys the whole family. Manu⁵⁴ says, 'the married women

curse the family members, for being made miserable by husband, mother, father, relative and younger brother; they all die as persons die when poisoned at the same time.'

Therefore, Swamiji advocated devotedness⁵⁵, both of man and woman. Both should give up union with other man and woman in thought, action and speech, and following the vow of a husband and wife should happily live, encouraging *dharma*, *artha*, *kama* and *moksa*. A woman should be respected like an angel by her husband and a man should be treated similarly by his wife. They should act to mutual satisfaction in perfect harmony. He follows Manu⁵⁶ for the punishment of adultery, 'If a woman neglecting her husband, commits adultery she should be condemned by the king to be devoured alive by dogs in the presence of many men and women; and the man committing adultery should be laid upon an iron bedstead made red hot in fire and burnt alive to ashes in presence of many men.' The king or the queen, the judge or his wife, committing adultery and other iniquities should be punished by the state council more severely than the common people.

Swami Dayanand refuted⁵⁷ Tantra and the Vāmamārga for practising evil and adultery. Swamiji criticises Christian and Muslim Gospel for their disparity between men and women. 'If God made Adam out of dust why did he not make his wife out of dust also? If He made woman of a bone why did he not make Adam of a bone?' Since she was called woman (*Nari*) because she was taken out of man, he should also be called woman because of his origin from woman. He was against imprisoning the women in home and allowing men to roam at free will. He criticises the Muslims on this ground; it is a great injustice that the women should sit in the house like prisoners and the men go abroad with freedom. Does the mind of woman not desire to walk in the open, pure air, in the pleasant country and to enjoy the pleasure of seeing the various objects of nature? He was against purdah⁵⁸ system because it was like putting women in prison. When they have knowledge they would remain chaste avoiding dangers with their intelligence. They cannot protect their chastity under purdah nor can become intelligent without knowledge. The English women are bolder, knowledgeable, intelligent and of good conduct in comparison to Indian women. In his time many women died in childbirth and during delivery, and after delivery they were kept in a dark unhygienic place. Swamiji was aware of women's unhealthy condition of living. Hence he writes⁵⁹, 'proper arrangements should be made for the bath and the food of the mother (after delivery) so that both the mother and the child progress gradually in the recovery of their health. After delivery, the mother and the child should be sent to a place of healthy climate. Their residence should contain fragrant and beautiful objects and they should be taken for walk in the pure air'.

Although he propagated equality and independence of women, but he also believed in their segregation, not mixing of men and women in education as well as in other dealings in life. He mentions in *Saniskara*⁶⁰ *Vidhi* that men should attend to men and women should attend to women. He regarded that women's main duty was to look after the house⁶¹ as he writes that a woman should look after household in obedience to her husband and the outdoor work should belong to the province of man's duties. This view is expressed in one of his *Vijnapana* also, 'All the articles which are in the house should be protected by the woman (wife) because all the domestic work should be allocated to the woman.' Jordens⁶² statement supports it, 'It is the women's duty to be the manager of the household by running it economically. She should also keep up her study of the Vedas and assist her husband in the daily ritual of five great sacrifices. She should attend to guests and she should not feed all the lazy sadhus but only the real sanyasin and the needy, the poor, the blind, the lame and the orphaned.'

In Swami's view⁶³ those women are to be protected and maintained whose husbands die in battle. Even the women of enemies are to be respected as their own sisters and daughters and they should never be looked at with the eyes of lust.

He held women in high respect and his effort was that she should be ranked in high respect in the family and in the society as she was held in the Vedic age. Exploited sexually, physically, socially and economically for centuries, she should no more be exploited, but should rather enjoy an honourable position. He pays highest respect to her as a mother⁶⁴, placing her before the father and the teacher. He cites a line from *Saipatha Brahmana*, 'Mātrmān, pitrmānācāryavān purusoved.' The first corporal goddess to be worshipped is the mother, i.e. the children should please the mother by serving her with their body, soul and wealth and cause no injury to her or give her any offence. The highest benefit is done to a child by his mother, as the scriptures declare, 'mātrmān arthāt praśastā dhārmiki vidyate yasyamātā sa mātrmān. (Blessed is he whose mother is praise worthy and pious and blessed is that mother who teaches her child as to what constitutes good character from its birth, till the completion of its education). It is a mother's duty to give her children the best possible instruction so that they may grow good and virtuous and never abuse any organ of their body. They should be trained to acquire the habit of honesty, bravery, patience, amiability and similar virtues. That mother is regarded as the enemy of the child who hasn't taught any knowledge to her children, 'mātā satru, pitā vairi yena balo na pāṭhitah'. 'Swamiji's view was that a woman should be given proper respect in the family as all happiness depended upon women, and this view is supported by Manu,⁶⁵ 'Women should be respected and adorned with apparel and jewels by their fathers, brothers, husbands and brothers of their husbands if they seek abundant prosperity,' 'Where women are honoured, being endowed with learning, the men of

house are called gods and live in happiness at home, but where they are not honoured all acts become fruitless,' 'That family soon goes to ruin where women are sad and miserable,' 'That family enjoys perpetual prosperity where women are filled with joy and delight. Therefore, men desirous of wealth, should ever honour women and supply them with jewels, viands and other requisites on the occasions of festivals and jubilees. It shows his conventional outlook. He seems to believe that women could be pleased with good apparel and jewels. His high respect and consideration for women is expressed in his letters⁶⁶ written to Rama and others where he addresses her venerably and shows his concern for her.

He practised what he preached. It is recorded that he decided to teach the sacred Gāyatri to an old lady who came to see him towards the end of her life.

To conclude we may say with Jordens⁶⁷ that he was always open to new ideas and perspectives, always keen to widen his learning and horizon. "Such was Swami Dayananda; an individualist, consumed by a passion for action, principled yet pragmatic, a man with great inner depth, yet totally involved in the present and always working for a better future; a mind receptive to the rapidly changing world around him but never passively submitting to its pressures; a man consumed by the dream of a better life for all, a happiness not only religious but also social and economic."⁶⁸ He was a humanist and a social reformer who fought for the rights of women to education, to the study of Vedas, to do marriage of their own choice, to have equal status in society, to secure widows' right to property and to remarry etc., and by opposing child marriage and advocating remarriage or Niyoga for widows he became the great champion of women's cause and a great supporter of their equality with men. He had his Utopia, but he was not an Utopian; rather, a practical idealist.

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64. S.P. p.140, 147, *Patra aur Vijnapana*, Pt.II, P.629.
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66. *Manu*, 3/60, 3/55-57, 59.
67. *Patra aur Vijnapana*, Pt.I Letter, 19, p.399 FF, Letter, 202 p.354 FF
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Maharshi Dayanand's Theory of Cosmic Evolution

Sudhi Kant Bharadwaj

Maharshi Dayanand is widely known as a revolutionary social reformer. He was at the same time a great philosopher and thinker. Relying solely on the testimony of Vedic texts, he delved deep into the mysteries of universe. He re-examined and re-interpreted various philosophic thoughts prevalent at his time and explained them in a lucid and logical style. He rejected all the mythological narrations and mystic thoughts and tried to give a neat explanation to the age-old philosophic statements in a comprehensible language. Keeping in view the obscurity of the subject matter, many of the views of Maharshi Dayanand, as of other schools of philosophy, may be debatable. Yet Maharshi Dayanand's distinction lies in the fact that while his predecessors wrote in a language intelligible only to the scholars, Maharshi Dayanand wrote in a style and parlance understandable by the common people.

Maharshi Dayanand has dealt with the subject of cosmology in the eighth samau'llāsa (chapter) of his famous work *Satyārtha Prakāśha*. Every school of Indian philosophy, nay the world philosophy, has pondered over the mysteries of creation, its preservation and destruction. In the mainstream of Indian thought, four main theories have been prevalent through the ages, viz. the theory of Brahma of Vedāntins, the theory of Puruṣa and Prakṛti of Sāṃkhya, the atomic theory of logicians and the *apoha* theory or the theory of nothingness of Buddhists. According to the Vedāntins Brahma is the only element which is both the cause and the effect, and the apparent universe in its diversified forms is nothing but just an illusion. According to the Sāṃkhya philosophy, there are two eternal elements Puruṣa and Prakṛti, the latter being dependent on the former for its evolutionary activities. According to the logicians, creation is the result of combination of subtle atoms. The Buddhist philosophy believes that creation has originated from nothingness. Maharshi Dayanand has propounded quite a new theory and has vehemently criticised the previous theories particularly the theory of Vedantists.

The kernel of Maharshi Dayanand's theory of cosmic evolution is that there are three eternal entities which govern the whole cosmic activity, viz. God, Individualised Self (*jīva*) and Nature.¹ These three entities, in a combined form, become the cause of cosmic evolution. In support of his theory, he has quoted the following mantra of the Rigveda :

द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परि पस्वजाते ।
तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्त्यनश्नन्नन्यो अभि चाकशीति ॥²

By *dvā suparnā* (*dvau suparnau*), literally meaning two birds, Maharshi Dayanand means two distinct entities, *jīva* and *Brahma*. By *sayujā* he means 'living inseparably together as pervaded and pervasive'. By *vṛkṣa* (tree) he means eternal nature. Thus the whole mantra, according to him, means as follows :

"There are two distinct eternal entities *jīva* and *Brahma* which exist together concomitantly as pervaded and pervasive. Similarly, the third eternal entity is Nature which is the tree, the effect. One of them i.e. *jīva* enjoys the fruit of the tree whereas the other i.e. *Brahma*, without enjoying the fruit (of actions), remains illuminant throughout the whole universe."

Sāyaṇa, the famous Vedic commentator, has also taken the meaning of *suparnau* as *jīva* and *paramātmā*.³ He has, however, not considered them as two separate entities. In his opinion, *ātmā* (*jīva*) and *paramātmā* are of the same form and the difference appearing in them due to limiting qualifications is unreal. The words *sayujau* and *sakhāyau* are indicative of their relationship of oneness.⁴ The main thrust of Sāyaṇa in interpreting this mantra is the Vedānta philosophy. The *vṛkṣa* (tree) in his opinion is the physical body which is a common substratum both for *jīva* and *Brahma* inasmuch as the body is the means of enjoyment in case of *jīva* and the means of realisation in case of *Brahma*. In reply to the question as to how the *Brahma*, the supreme power, comes to feel the worldly feelings of pleasure and pain, Sāyaṇa quotes the following mantra of the *Mundaka Upanisad* :

समाने वृक्षे पुरुषो निमग्नोऽनीशया शोचति मुह्यमानः ।
जुष्टं यदा पश्यत्यन्यमीशमस्य महिमानमिति वीतशोकः ॥⁵

This, according to him, means that resorting to the same body the *Puruṣa*, i.e. the God feels bereft of his supreme powers due to delirium and is thus subjected to the feeling of pain. But when he realises his own form, ever pleasant and supremely powerful, as well as his own greatness he becomes free from the feeling of pain. Delirium comes through the limiting conditions but when these illusory limits are removed, he comes to realise his own real form.

The Vedānta philosophy, howsoever well set it may be, leaves many questions unanswered to a common mind. When *Brahma* is beyond all transformations and feelings how can he come under the spell of delirium and feel himself as an indivi-

dual *jīva* and susceptible to the worldly mysteries ? Realising the invincibility of this principle, Maharshi Dayanand has accepted the eternality of three inherent elements viz. *Brahma*, *jīva* and Nature. These three elements are free from the state of birth and death and independent of one another in their respective ways.

In support of his point, Maharshi Dayanand has quoted the following verse of *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*.

अजमेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां बह्वीः प्रजाः सृजमानां स्वरूपाः ।
अजो ह्येको जुपमानोऽनुशेते जहात्येनां भुक्तभोगामजोऽन्यः ॥⁶

According to him this mantra means that one unborn entity (i.e. *jīva*) is entrapped while enjoying; the other unborn entity is Nature which has three attributes of red, white and black colours and reproduces a lot of offsprings of its own form, whereas the third unborn entity neither enjoys it nor is entrapped into it. This verse fully supports the theory of Maharshi Dayanand. *Prakṛti* is known as *ajā*. It is possessed of three attributes i.e. *sattva*, *rajas* and *taṃas*, the colours of which are stated to be white, red and dark respectively. Its chief characteristic is to reproduce.⁷ Mention of three unborns here speaks of their independence from one another.

According to Maharshi Dayanand, there are three causes of the cosmic evolution viz. (i) the efficient cause, (ii) the material cause and (iii) the general efficient cause. *Brahma* is endowed with all powerfulness and functions as an agent in the process of evolution. He is, therefore, the efficient cause of the universe. The efficient cause (*nimitta kāraṇa*) is one which sets the whole production machinery into action, as the potter is the efficient cause of pot. Nature is the material cause (*upādāna kāraṇa*) of the creation because it is out of its form that the creation takes place. Material cause is the stuff out of which something is produced, as clay is the material cause of pot. The third, the general efficient cause is *jīva* as it is by means of *jīva* that the process of reproduction takes place, as the stick which makes the disc of the potter to move, is the general efficient cause in the process of production of pot. The three causes mentioned above can be compared with the *nimitta*, *samavāyi* and *asamavayikaraṇā* of the logicians.⁸

Maharshi Dayanand differs from the Vedantic view in that in the opinion of Vedantists *Brahma* is both the efficient and material cause, whereas Dayanand considers *Brahma* as the efficient cause only, the material cause being Nature. Swamiji's view differs from Sāṃkhya philosophy also. In Sāṃkhya philosophy there are two elements viz. *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*, the association of which is the cause of cosmic evolution. While *Brahma* or *Īśvara* of Dayanand's philosophy is all powerful and the agent, the *Puruṣa* of Sāṃkhya is an inactive entity not comparable to omnipotent *Īśvara Puruṣa*.

of Sāṃkhya is only the motive force which stimulates Nature to be active. With the contact of *puruṣa, prakṛti*, the main apparatus, gains activity and becomes both the efficient and the material cause.

For his view that God is the creator, preserver and controller of this universe Maharshi has relied on the following mantra of the *Rigveda* :

इयं विसृष्टिर्यत आ बभूव यदि वा दधे यदि वा न ।
यो अस्याध्यक्षः परमे व्योमन्तसो अङ्ग वेद यदि वा न वेद ॥⁹

This mantra, according to Dayanand means as follows :

“Oh man ! it is God who creates, preserves and destroys this universe. It is God who is pervasive and in whom this universe is created, preserved and deluded. You know him and not anybody else.”

Interpreting this mantra in the above manner, Dayanand has drawn that God is pervasive of the universe and all the activities of the cosmos rest on him. Nature and *jīva* are two distinct elements different from him but they lie in him before creation and emanate from him at the time of creation. Though these elements remain unidentified yet they exist in the latent form as quite distinct from him. Thus Supreme God known as Brahma or *Īśvara* is the substratum of the cosmic apparatus and it is due to his powers that the apparatus is geared to activity.

In interpreting the above mantra, Dayanand differs from Sāyaṇa. According to Sāyaṇa, Brahma is stated here to be both the material cause and the efficient cause. In explaining the meaning of ‘yataḥ’, he has quoted the Pāṇinian sūtra *janikartuḥ prakṛtiḥ*¹⁰ enjoining the fifth case affix in the words denoting the material wherefrom something is produced. Thus Brahma is the material cause wherefrom and with the form of which the cosmic evolution takes place.¹¹

According to Dayanand, the primordial seed of the cosmos lay inherently latent before creative activity. It was covered under darkness and nothing could be known at that time. The basis of this supposition is the following matra of the *Rigveda* :

तम आसीत्तमसा गूढमग्रेऽप्रकेतं सलिलं सर्वमा इदम् ।
तुच्छेनाभिमहितं यदासीत्तपस्तन्महिना जायते स ॥¹²

This mantra according to him means :

“Before creation, this entire universe was covered under darkness not capable of being known. It was of small dimensions. Thereafter God converted this causal element into effect by means of his own power.”

Nature is the causal element. But it does not have the power to create any activity in it. It is just like the material from which different kinds of articles can be made. God is the powerful agent who uses this causal material to grow into the effect of creation. Consciousness is the real power which lies in God and not in Nature. It is through the consciousness of God that various creatures of Nature acquire activity and the process of procreation continues till delusion.

Though God, according to Maharshi, is the creator, preserver and destroyer of creation and is possessed of supreme powers, yet his powers also are not infinite. He is not the creator of the primordial seed i.e. Nature, nor of the individual self known as *jiva*. They exist along with him from the eternal times. He cannot change the character either of Nature or of *jiva*. He cannot create another God. He cannot subject himself to mundane activities. He cannot interchange the characteristics of fire, water etc. He cannot change his own rule. Thus the power of God is also limited. He is omnipotent only in the sense that he does not need anybody's help for discharging his job.

This idea of Dayanand is quite novel and contrary to the orthodox views. Many controversies arise about it. However, Dayanand's theory is in consonance with the scientific character of the system. Even a common observer is convinced about the uniformity and fixity of the properties of the natural objects. For example, sound is the quality of space. Nobody, not even God, can make it the quality of earth or water. Every activity of nature takes place in a regular order according to a set system. God is also a part of that system. He cannot be above that. God is an entity which exists in the system from eternal times but cannot be perceived in bodily form. He cannot be bound in physical limitations. If it would have been so He could not have been called omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, because any gross form limited in physical organs has a limited power howsoever big in size that may be.

Regarding the sequence of cosmic evolution Maharshi Dayanand has accepted the principle of Sāṃkhya philosophy. It is Nature from which the evolutionary process proceeds. Nature is possessed of three attributes, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. In the primeval stage they remain equally poised.¹³ At the time of evolution vibrations are produced in these three attributes and they collectively become responsible for further transformations. A variety of objects are produced due and according to the unequal proportion of each attribute.¹⁴ *Sattva* is light and illuminative. When *sattva* dominates then the limbs are light and brightening effect takes place. *Rajas* is exciting and mobile. When *rajas* dominates the limbs are stimulated and mind becomes quivering and unsteady. *Tamas* is heavy and enveloping. When *tamas* dominates then the limbs become heavy, obtuse and incapable of carrying out their functions. The function of

these mutually opposite attributes is collective as in lamp the mutually opposite objects such as oil, fire and wick collectively produce the flame.¹⁵ The entire creation is the result of proportionate combination of these three attributes. The nature and character of the evolution is determined by the dominance of *sattva*, *rajas* or *tamas*.

From Nature, the primordial seed, intellect is first produced. From intellect ego is produced. From ego, five subtle elements and eleven senses are produced. From five subtle elements, five gross elements are produced.¹⁶ These twenty four elements are the ingredients of the entire cosmic circle. From subtle elements grosser elements are produced. The three attributes viz. *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* are the most subtle elements in Nature. In the primal stage they remain separate. At the time of creation the atoms of these three attributes are first combined. Thereafter, further combinations take place and by the continuous process of such combinations gross form is produced which is known as creation.

Arguing on the theory of cause and effect, Dayanand has maintained the principle of Sāṃkhya philosophy that in the pre-creation stage the effect lies latent in the cause. Anything which happens to exist at any stage cannot be produced from non-existence. The *Bhagvadgīrā* maintains the same view which Maharshi Dayanand has quoted as an authority :

नासतो विद्यते भावो नाभावो विद्यते सतः ।
उभयोरपि दृष्टोऽन्तस्त्वनयोस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥¹⁷

Non-existent thing cannot exist and existent thing cannot be non-existent. Sāṃkhya-kārikā has very logically established this view in the following kārikā :

असदकरणादुपादानग्रहणात्, सर्वसम्भवाभावात् ।
शक्तस्य शक्यकारणात्, कारणभावाच्च सत्कार्यम् ॥¹⁸

There can be no production from non-existent. Oil cannot be produced from sand because it does not exist in it. Similarly, the universe could not have been produced had it not existed in the primal cause, Nature. It is seen in the world that for the production of something right type of material is required to be used. For the production of curd, milk is required and not water. Everything cannot be produced from everything. A particular thing can be produced only from the particular cause and not from everything. A pot can be produced only from clay and not from water. No effect can be produced without a cause. It means the cause exists before the effect is produced. When the cause exists effect must also exist in it, though invisible, because without pre-existence it cannot appear. Thus the entire cosmos exists in the latent form in Nature before it is created.

Maharshi Dayanand has criticised various theories regarding the evolution of creation. Some schools, particularly Buddhist, believe that this creation has evolved from nothingness and is destroyed to become nothing. It exists only presently. Dayanand believes, as stated above, that nothingness is not the negation of existence. It is an invisible entity, due to its being subtle.

Like Buddhists, logicians also believe that creation has evolved from non-existence. They believe in cause but not in the theory that effect lies in the cause before the effect actually takes place. According to them, as cloth is non-existent in yarns before production, similarly creation is non-existent in the cause before it actually evolves. Non-existence, in their opinion, is the seventh material and is eternal because it is not produced. It is of the form of destruction of effect.¹⁹ In support of their belief they have argued that sprout cannot appear from the seed unless it is broken. The sharpness of the thorn is not visible in the seed. It is therefore drawn from such worldly experiences that the effect does not lie in the cause before its having taken place.²⁰ Maharshi Dayanand has refuted this argument stating that effect is always of the nature of cause. Such effects as appearance of the sprout or sharpness of the thorn could not have appeared without their pre-existence in the seed. Thorns can appear only from the seed of a thorny tree and not otherwise.

Dayanand has sharply criticised the Vedantist theory that the universe is unreal or *jīva* is the same as Brahma. If the cause of the universe, i.e. Brahma is real how the effect can be unreal? The physical object may destroy but its subtle atom cannot perish. Even at the time of delusion the creation remains in its causal form.

Dayanand has re-interpreted several statements of the *Upaniṣad* to prove his theory. For example the statement of the *Kaṭhapaniṣad* "सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म नेह नानास्ति किञ्चन" has been interpreted by the Vedantists that the entire universe is Brahma and there is no diversification in it. Dayanand has interpreted it in the sense that the entire universe is associated with Brahma but he is not the combination of the diversified objects. He is, in fact, the substratum of the diversified objects which lie distinctly apart. Brahma is not the material cause of the universe but the efficient cause. By supposing him to be the material cause, he will have to be accepted as subject to transformation and such worldly experiences as pleasure and pain. Such a proposition is against the principle of Vedantists.

Maharshi Dayanand has discussed in details the form, characteristics and functioning of God and the individualised self (*jīva*) in the seventh samullāsa. *jīva* has some similarities with God but he is not as powerful as God. Both are possessed of

consciousness and agency. But God's consciousness and agency are vast, great, unfettered and unlimited within the framework of his own system but in the case of individualised self they are limited and subject to failures. Like God, *jiva* is independent in performing his job but the latter is bound by his own actions and is receiver of their fruit, good or bad according to the nature of the action. God has, on the other hand, nothing to receive because nothing remains unreceived by him. God is one but the individual selves are innumerable. God is pervasive and *jiva* the pervaded. God is creator of the entire universe and *jiva* the creator only of the physical objects by conjugal process. Thus Brahma and *jiva*, though similar in some respects, cannot be the same entity.

Replying to various queries in connection with creation, Dayanand believes that proceeding from subtle to grosser forms the human creation came very late in the evolutionary process. It came only after the earth and other objects necessary for the living of human being had been created. He also believes that human creation must exist on other planets also though different according to different geographical and ecological conditions²¹.

Reflecting on the concept of liberation Dayanand has propounded in the ninth *Samullāsa* that individual self acquires liberation when he is freed from the physical limitations. In the state of liberation he is not dissolved into Brahma but remains in him till the new creation takes place after a long delusion at the end of the *Kalpa*. Thus the liberation of individual self is not unconditional and indefinite.

Thus, according to Maharshi Dayanand, the whole cosmic system is centred around three eternal entities—Brahma, *Jiva* and Nature. Brahma is the substratum of the other two. These three eternal entities are causeless as there can be no cause of the cause.

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4. द्वौ सुपर्णस्थानीयौ क्षेत्रज्ञपरमात्मानौ सयुजा समानयोगौ ।
योगो नाम सम्बन्धः स च तादात्म्यलक्षणः..... ।
औपाधिकभेद वास्तवाभेद चापेक्ष्य प्रवृत्तः ।
अत एव सखायौ समानख्यानौ नान्यख्यानौ ॥

Sāyana on RV-I. 164.20

5. *Mund. up.* III. 1.2.

6. *Śvetāśvatara Upanisad*-IV. 5.

7. त्रिगुणमविवेकि विषयः सामान्यमचेतनं प्रसवधर्मि ।
व्यक्तं तथा प्रधानं तद्विपरीतस्तथा च पुमान् ॥

Sāmkhyakārikā.

सत्त्वं रजस्तम इति गुणाः प्रकृतिसम्भवाः ।
निवृद्धन्ति महाबाहो देहे देहिनमव्ययम् ॥

Gītā, XIV. 5.

8. तच्च कारणं त्रिविधम् । सम गायि-असमवायि-निमित्तभेदात् ॥

Tarkabhāṣā, Pramāṇaprakaraṇa.

9. *RV. X.* 129.7.

10. *Pān, I.* 4.30.

11. 'जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः' इत्यपादानसंज्ञायां पञ्चम्यास्तसिल् ।
यस्मात् परमात्मनः उपादानभूतादावभूव तं परमात्मानं को वेद ॥

Sāyaṇa on RV. 129.7.

12. *RV. X.* 129.3.

13. सत्त्वरजस्तमसां साम्यावस्था प्रकृतिः ।

Sāmkhya Sūtra I. 61.

14. कारणमस्त्यव्यक्तं प्रवर्तते त्रिगुणतः समुदयाच्च ।
परिणामतः सलिलवत् प्रतिप्रतिगुणाश्रयविशेषात् ॥

Sāmkhyakārikā, 16.

15. सत्त्वं लघुप्रकाशकमिष्टमुपष्टम्भकं चलं च रजः ।
गुरुवरणमकमेव तमः प्रदीपवच्चार्थतो वृत्तिः ॥

Ibid, 13.

16. प्रकृतेर्महान् महतोऽहङ्करोऽहङ्कागात् पञ्चतन्मात्राण्युभयमिन्द्रियं
पञ्चतन्मात्रेभ्यः स्थूलभूतानि पुरुष इति पञ्चविंशतिगणः ॥

Sāmkhya Sūtra, I. 61.

17. *Gītā, II.* 16.

18. *Sāmkhyakārikā, 9.*

19. उत्पत्तोः प्राक् कारणे कार्यस्याभावः प्रागभावः । यथा तन्तुषु पटाभावः ।
स चानादिरूपत्तेरभावात् । विनाशी च कार्यस्यैव तद्विनाशरूपत्वात् ॥

Tarkabhāṣā, Prameyāni.

20. अभावात्भावोत्पत्तिर्ननुपमृद्य प्रादुर्भावात् ।
अनिमित्ततो भावोत्पत्तिः कण्टकतैक्ष्ण्यादिदर्शनात् ।

Nyāyasūtra, IV. 1. 14, 22.

21. Latest scientific explorations are pointing to human existence on other planets also, particularly on the Mars. According to a recent news report "enigmatic objects, including a mile long humanoid face and five sided pyramids arrayed in striking geometric pattern indicative of possible ruins of an ancient civilisation of Mars, have been found on several pictures taken by Viking spacecraft". *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, July 20, 1988, p. 16, cols. 3-4.

Dayanand's Contribution to Sanskrit Grammar

Yajan Veer Dahlya

The nineteenth century India witnessed a great upheaval in political, social, religious and cultural fields. In a sense, this period can be termed as a period of renaissance in Indian history when all the regions of the country were under the influence of such forces which laid great stress on overall transformation in all walks of life. The twin movements of the Renaissance and Reformation broke the old established order, profounded new concepts, theories, ideas, shook papal dominance and heightened the urge to set-up a national standard of faith in Europe. The Indian Renaissance also endeavoured to make things rational, amoral, pragmatic and akin to modern political methods.

Swami Dayanand was one of the towering personalities who pioneered literary, religious, cultural, social and political revival in the country. It would not be wrong if we describe him the father of Renaissance and Reformation because in his works one can have the finest expression and exposition of the ideals and principles of classical Renaissance and Reformation.

Dayanand's works have been subjected to various types of studies such as religious, political, social and cultural. Moreover, he is known as a great Vedic scholar for his commentaries on the Vedas. He has criticised Sāyana, Mahidhara and European scholars while commenting on the Vedas. Therefore, Max Muller described him as a 'great Vedic scholar.' Swami Dayanand laid great stress on correct use of grammar in almost all his writings. But most of the scholars have ignored the grammatical aspect of his works. It would not be inappropriate to say that he was an eminent grammarian, and he wrote many commentaries on Sanskrit grammar also. The following paras would detail his grammatical treatises one by one.

Sanskrit Vakya Prabodha

This book has been published by the Vedic Pustakālaya, Ajmer a number of times. It is a primary book on Sanskrit grammar and very helpful for the beginners. It deals with the nouns, adjectives, pronouns, indeclinables, verbs, nominal verbs and participles and how they are used to form a sentence.

Varnoccārnā Śikṣā

It has been published by the Ārya Sāhitya Mandal Ltd., Ajmer. It deals with the phonology. Originally, it was written by Pāṇini in aphorism style. Dayanand describes that it should be taught to the students in their childhood so that they could understand the organs, the efforts and vehicle of pronunciation of letters. The organ for pronunciation of *Pa* is lips, the effort in pronouncing it is to open the lips and the breath and motion of the tongue constitute its vehicle or utterance. In the same way the pronunciation of all other letters should be taught according to the aphorism of phonology.

Sandhi Visaya

It is published by the Ārya Sāhitya Mandal Ltd. Ajmer. Dayanand commented on all the aphorisms of the euphonic combinations which are recorded by Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. All the inflected words forming a hemistich of a verse have been joined together according to the rules of euphonic combination as laid down in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, e.g. *Vrddhih-āt aic Vrddhirādaic* etc.

Nāmika

It is published by the Arya Sāhitya Mandal Ltd. Ajmer. It deals with the characteristics of declension of nouns, pronouns and numerals. Therefore, it is called *nāmnām vyākhyāno grantho nāmikh*. Dayanand wrote a running commentary on all the aphorisms of declension attested by Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and even gave a new interpretation while explaining them. For example *purusa* → *supurusas* → *purusa ru* ← *purusa-r* → *purusah* and the like.

Kārakiya

It is published by the Vedic Pustakālaya Ajmer. Pāṇini uses *kāraka* as a technical term to denote anything that contributes towards the fruition of an action. Etymologically we can define it as *karoti iti kārakam* (one who does). Dayanand wrote a very useful commentary on the aphorisms of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* related to the (*kāraka*) system. He says what causes or occasions an action is a *kā-aka*. For instance, *sisydh kupād hastena rājñe pātre jalam ānayati*. Here the various objects expressed by nominals, contribute to the accomplishment of the act of 'bringing'.

Sāmāsika

It is published by the Vedic Pustakālaya Ajmer. Dayanand commented on all the aphorisms of the compounds which are mentioned by Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. In this treatise we find that names, attributives, verbs and indeclinables generally have the power of entering into combination with

each other. Also compound words have the power to express various relationships subsisting between them and the last word takes the case termination. For example, *ācca aicca*=*ādiaic* and so on.

Strainataddhita

This book has come out through the efforts of the Vedic Pustakālaya Ajmer in several editions. Dayanand wrote a commentary on the feminine-affixes and the secondary-suffixes on the pattern of the *Astādhyāyi*. Such pattern is not followed by Bhattojiksita in his *Siddhanta Kaumudi*. We find a very interesting feature that the feminines do not follow the natural physiological category of sexes; sometimes the names of the things which have no sex may have genders. For instance, *tata*, *tati* and *tatam*. Likewise, where sex may be feminine their genders will be masculines e.g. *dāram* and so on. Secondary suffixes are added in various senses in Sanskrit grammar. Mostly they are attached to nouns, pronouns, ordinals, indeclinables, and rarely with the compound words. Dayanand's commentary is quite self explanatory.

Avyayārtha

It is published by the Vedic Pustakālaya Ajmer. There are some indeclinable words in Sanskrit grammar recorded by Pānini in his *Ganapārtha*. Dayanand illustrated them by writing a commentary on the indeclinable words and put forward new method for grasping them. Indeclinables never undergo a change. They remain the same in three genders, in all cases and in all numbers. Dayanand's commentary illustrates them fully well.

Sauvara

The Vedic Pustakālaya Ajmer got it published in several editions. Now a-days accent is available only in the *Rgveda*, *Sāmaveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Atharvaveda*, *Satapatha Brāhmana*, *Brdāranyaka Upanisad* and *Tattiriya Brāhmana* (including its *Aranyaka*). The accents are directly related to the substance, and these are placed on vowels, not on consonants. Or we can say that these are the qualities of vowels and are well known in the sacred and secular literature. But according to some scholars, Pānini wrote his *Astādhyāyi* with accent marks. He had used the accentual aphorisms in his treatise. Dayanand commented on all the accentual rules of the *Astādhyāyi* in his book named *Sauvara* and made it understandable for the students who want to enter the field of Vedic language.

Akhyātika

It is published by the Arya Sāhitya Mandal Ltd. Ajmer. The *ākhyāta* (verb) is the most important part of the Pāninian system and the Sanskrit grammar as a whole. The verbal form in its inflected manner is the combination of two elements. Firstly, known as the base, the modified verb to which the inflexions are subjoined. Secondly, some syllables which constitute the inflectional terminations are

subjoined to the base. We find some remarkable changes in the conjugational system of the *Astādhyāyī* that affects the verbs and classify than in the ten conjugations. Thus the *Guna* which affects the simple vowel, the affixes are composed immediately to the base, the roots get the reduplication, interposes of *Y*, addition of *nu*, interposes of *a* subjoins *n*, adds *u*, takes *an*, inserts *ay*. Dayanand wrote a commentary on all the aphorisms of the *Astādhyāyī* which are related to the conjugational system and adopted a new method to illustrate them.

Pāribhāsika

The Arya Sāhitya Mandal Ltd. Ajmer has made strenuous efforts in republishing old literature. This book is the outcome of that effort. It contains one hundred and thirteen *paribhāsās* in all. Dayanand commented on all the *paribhāsās* available in the grammatical treatise. Dayanand illustrated every *paribhāsā* by giving suitable examples. His style of explaining them is quite clear and remarkable. He brought into light many facts regarding the *paribhāsās* which were not known at the time of Dayanand.

Dhātupātha

It is published by the Arya Sāhitya Mandal Ltd. Ajmer. It consists of two thousand and fourteen roots in all. Dayanand added at the end of the *Dhātupātha* the alphabetical order of the roots. Thus, it becomes very easy for a researcher to find out a root as desired by him. Basically it was propounded by Pānini himself. It keeps verbs with meanings and the paradigms of ten *lakaras* or moods and tenses.

Ganapātha

It is published by the Arya Sāhitya Mandal Ltd. Ajmer. Originally, it was propounded by Pānini in order to complete his grammatical works. Dayanand wrote a commentary on it and arranged all the *ganās* in alphabetical order.

Unādikosa

It is published by the Vedic Pustakālaya Ajmer. It was basically propounded by Pānini himself. Dayanand illustrated all the aphorisms of the *Unādikosa* and recorded all the *Unādi* words alphabetically at the end of the book. No doubt, it is very useful for the students of grammar.

Nighantu

It is also published by the Vedic Pustakālaya Ajmer. Originally it was propounded by Yāska Ācārya. It is a collection of Vedic words. Therefore, it is known as *Vedic kosa*. Dayanand edited it and arranged all the words alphabetically. It is a base of Vedic grammar.

Astādhyāyī

Dayanand wrote a complete commentary on whole of the Astādhyāyī. The first three adhyāyas (chapters) are published in two volumes (first and second chapters in fourth volume and third chapter in second volume) by the Vedic Pustakālaya, Ajmer. The rest are lying unpublished with the Paropakārini Sabhā, Ajmer.

Swami Dayanand wrote his commentaries in Hindi language keeping in view the national spirit in mind. Before Dayanand all the commentaries were written in Sanskrit because it was a language of the priestly class. It was beyond the approach of a common man; Dayanand chose Hindi medium so that common man could understand Sanskrit grammar. He always associated himself with the people and repudiated all insinuations to make him superior in any way to his fellow brethren. Through his commentaries on Sanskrit grammar Dayanand improved the lot of the common man and tried to make the Sanskrit grammar easy.

Dayanand was not only an editor but was a great critic and a commentator. His commentaries on Sanskrit grammar are much more advanced in knowledge than the previous commentaries. Before Dayanand, the commentators indulged in giving a sectarian approach to Sanskrit grammar by giving examples such as Rāma, Krishna, Hari, Siva, etc. Dayanand expunged all such things and gave abundant secular material in his commentaries. He paid meticulous attention to make Sanskrit grammar a secular one.

Today Sanskrit is counted as an international language but credit for this goes to the European scholars. The Christian missionaries and English officials who came to India studied Sanskrit language and wrote several articles on its grammatical aspects. These articles encouraged other European scholars to study Sanskrit language. No doubt, they have done a lot of things to improve the Sanskrit learning in Europe. Some of them have done excellent work. Some have edited books, written minor notes and translated the original Sanskrit text into English. Some of them have also worked on Sanskrit grammar. The main attraction of their work is English. As a result Sanskrit which came out from priestly families became very much popular in Europe. Their works on classical Sanskrit grammar are merely a translation. Some of them have tried to write down independent works in garb of translation and minor notes. As compared to these European scholars, Dayanand's commentaries are self-sufficient and self explanatory with profuse documentation.

Dayanand was one of the greatest protagonists of Sanskrit grammar. He revived the old tradition of learning the Sanskrit grammar. His great works on Sanskrit grammar helped in rejecting spurious books in grammar. He rejected the spurious books of Sanskrit grammar such as those of Kātantra, Sāraswati, Chandrikā, Mugdhabodh, Kaumudī, Shekhar, Manorma etc.

Dayanand added a sense of life to the aphorisms of Sanskrit grammar and made ordinary things appear to be extra-ordinary by giving explicit explanations. Dayanand introduced the new system (*Arsa pranali*) for studying the Sanskrit grammar without any subordination to dogmas, rules and regulations given by the writers of Bhattojidiaksa era. The treatises on Sanskrit grammar were written under the inspiration of dogmas and rules. It was Dayanand's role as a grammarian to throw away the pattern of Bhattojidiaksa for studying the Sanskrit grammar and be a grammarian in his own independent right, expressing what he actually felt in his heart.

Dayanand's theory of learning of Sanskrit grammar was a complete departure from the theory of Bhattojidiaksa and his followers. He introduced a note of true *Arsa pranali* (path shown by the seers) system in Sanskrit grammar. Dayanand's approach to Sanskrit grammar was something new which grammarians of Bhattojidiaksa era had never experienced.

A Survey of Historical Writings on Arya Samaj

Bishambar Dayal Yadav

Hinduism in the 19th century was full of a variety of evils and vices. Even its shape was not clearly recognisable. It presented itself into a vast congeries of faiths, ranging all the way from the strict *advaita* doctrine of Shankaracharya to the crudest and grossest superstitions embodied in the *tantras*, the whole being held together in a kind of external unity by the vast hierarchical organisation of the caste.¹ Moreover, the old religious outlook, practices and social structure rendered any task of reform of the society exceedingly difficult, if not impossible.²

The nineteenth century India also witnessed the beginning of several socio-religious organisations in almost all regions of the country. These aimed at reforming the social structure of the society and reorganising it on modern lines. The Brahmo Samaj was founded by Raja Rammohan Roy in Bengal in 1828, Prarthana Samaj and Paramahansa Mandali in Maharashtra and Arya Samaj in Punjab and North India.³ Besides these, some regional and caste associations also emerged whose fundamental tenets were restricted to particular region and castes but their general frame of references were largely similar.⁴

These reform movements emerged largely on account of the impact of western ideas and thought. The slowly emerging western educated classes realised the imperative need of reforms. The socio-cultural regeneration in nineteenth century India was occasioned by the colonial presence, but not created by it.⁵

The savants of socio-religious reform movements in India were greatly perturbed by religious superstitions and social obscurantism as these had already provided the religious hegemony to the priestly class in the pre-16th century Europe. They were largely influenced by the twin movements of the Renaissance and Reformation which had gradually prepared ground for the supremacy of the democratic set-up in Europe. If Renaissance broke old established orders and propounded new concepts, theories, ideas and formulae in the realm of art, literature and sciences⁶, the Reformation shook papal dominance and heightened the urge to set-up a national standard of faith. Moreover, it gave birth to 'new theological doctrines' which immensely facilitated the growth of secular state.⁷ The emergent Liberalism influenced and shaped the political developments and acted as an intermediary force between the struggles of Kings and Parliament, and, in the course of time, ensured the supremacy of Parliament in Europe.⁸ Under the impact of Liberalism (with its principles of nationalism and democracy), the revolutionary outbreaks in France (1789, 1830, 1848) forced the tyrants either to abstain from politics or to be flexible. All

these movements and happenings of Europe influenced the minds of Indian elite indirectly if not directly. Even the early leadership of the Indian nationalist movement became apostle of Western Liberalism which had fostered the tenets of nationalism, democracy and secularism there.

The foundation of Arya Samaj was laid by Dayanand Saraswati in Bombay in April 1875. But it could not become a popular movement there.⁹ The basic theology of the Samaj was based on the *Vedas*. According to the founder of the creed, God was the primary cause of all true knowledge and *Vedas* were the books of true knowledge.¹⁰ The interpretation of the old religion into new form suited the needs of the new society. Swami Dayanand denounced many existing Hindu practices—idolatry, polytheism, child marriage, Brahmanical hegemony, caste system and advocated widow remarriage. He also asserted Hindu superiority over all other religions and faiths (Christianity and Islam).¹¹ Within a very short period, it became a very popular movement in the Punjab where Punjabi Hindu elite like Gurditta mal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Lala Hans Raj and Lala Munshi Ram (later Swami Shradhdhanand) joined and popularised it with the assistance of local businessmen.¹² Two decades after the death of its founder, the Arya Samaj adopted vigorously the programme of *shuddhi* (conversion and purification) of lower communities such as *Rahtias*, *Dooms*, *Meghs* etc. Within thirty years from (1891 to 1921) the membership of the Samaj swelled to half a million.¹³

It is impossible to make a survey or review of the entire literature published so far. The intention here is to review the general trends of historical writings on this relatively little explored aspect of history. Broadly speaking there exists four types of trends—imperialist, nationalist (contemporary Arya Samajists and political activists), post-independence writings (including those of Marxists and non-Marxists), and American school of historians.

The first major approach towards Arya Samaj is nationalist historiography. In the period under study this school was represented by political activists and staunch Arya Samajists such as Lala Lajpat Rai,¹⁴ Aurobindo Ghose,¹⁵ M.G. Ranade,¹⁶ S. Natarajan,¹⁷ C.Y. Chintamani,¹⁸ Munshi Ram,¹⁹ Bawa Chhajju Singh,²⁰ G.P. Upadhyaya²¹ etc. Bawa Chhajju Singh was the first biographer of Dayanand in English in 1903. This biography was started by his elder brother, Bawa Arjun Singh, who had been the editor of *Arya Patrika* (Lahore 1885), the English organ of Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab. But his untimely death passed on this responsibility to his younger brother, Bawa Chhajju Singh. Even before this biography, Pt Lekh Ram and Mehtab Radha Krishna were the first Urdu writers who covered this field. Other writers also dwelt upon the multiple activities of the Samaj solely "in the interest of Vedic Religion".²²

Almost all the contemporary writings on this aspect (written roughly between 1885-1913) laid great stress on the *Dharma* which consisted of following the truth. The truth alone triumphed and secured for its devotees—*Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kama*, and *Moksha*. Truth, according to them, was also “propriety of ideas in connection with real matters.” Swami Dayanand in *Satyarth Prakash* (Light of Truth) laid down criteria to assess the truth.²³ It was indeed his love of truth that drove him to make a comparative study of the various religions and pass judgement on their merits and demerits. As he himself said, “My sole aim in criticising the views of others is to arrive at truth.”²⁴ The scholars of this school praised Swamiji without judging or seeing the attitude or reaction of the people of other religions. It is generally believed by this school that Swami had “no bitterness in his heart, no malice even for his critics. On the other hand, his heart was so much full of love and sympathy for all that he even pardoned the man who poisoned him to death.”²⁵ This of course is an exaggerated claim. In his writings and speeches Dayanand often displayed his anger and venom against other religions especially against Islam and Christianity. Unlike Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya, Raivdas, Tukaram etc. of the Bhakti movement, he spoke bitterly against other religions.

The staunch Arya Samajists such as Lala Lajpat Rai, Swami Shraddhanand, Bawa Chhajju Singh and others laid great stress on strong religious character built upon the basis of pure Vedic direction.²⁶ Lajpat Rai strongly believed that only Arya Samaj could fulfil two great wants of the people—‘men of character and religious unity’ based on the ‘best moral and ethical training.’²⁷ These were, according to him, the good qualities which must be possessed by every individual of the country.²⁸ The Arya Samaj tried an experiment in purely indigenous enterprise which could develop a spirit of self-help and self-reliance among the ‘citizens’ of India.²⁹ It does not mean that the Samaj became opposed to western literature and modern science but in the early twentieth century, it paid special attention towards these subjects.³⁰

After ten years of the death of its founder, Swami Dayanand, Arya Samaj became a divided house over the medium of instruction. One group led by the Lala Lajpat Rai and Hans Raj focussed on building up a chain of Dayanand Anglo-Vedic institutions and also developed a somewhat sporadic interest in Congress politics.³¹ The other group which was led by Lekh Ram and Shraddhanand had more revivalistic tendency. They started Gurukul educational system based on principles of *Brahmacharya* and Vedic training.³² *Shuddhi* movement became their way of proselytization through paid preachers.³³ If compared, the general trend of both groups was towards a shift ‘from Arya Dharm to Hindu consciousness’³⁴ which was instrumental in creating anti-Muslim feeling and communal tension in the society.

The contemporary writings held him in great esteem for his open debates (Shastrarth) with Christian missionaries and *Sanatani Pandits* all over the country with a view to removing wrong dogmas, superstitions, rituals and other evils prevailing in Hindu society in the name of religion. Agreeing with Swamiji, Bawa Chhajju Singh maintained that man's salvation lay in following the teachings of *Vedas* which were considered to be revelation of God.³⁵ He held that emancipation depended on the dispelling of this ignorance. It is quite true that there was no emancipation so long as ignorance persisted. The matrix of devoted writers become narrow when they compare "impure things to pure, painful things as pleasure giving and mortal things as immortals"³⁶ in their own conceptual framework, be it traditional.

A regards social reforms, the Samaj waged an "eternal war" against the social evils such as untouchability, child marriage, prohibition of widow re-marriage and *sati*. All these writers supported the viewpoint of the preacher of this cult which he propagated, "the doctrine of universal brotherhood."³⁷ However, such an effort had serious implications and difficulties in a country like India which is inhabited by diverse religious and social groups. The basic thrust of Dayanand was to remove disunity and division only of Hindu society while India was inhabited by many other religious communities too. He gave a clarion call of one God—*Om*, one religion—*Vedic Dharma*, one language—*Hindi*, one caste—*Arya* and one method of worship—*Sandhya*. Obviously his institution namely, Arya Samaj, had serious limitations.³⁸

The reformers and even political activists realised the strength of tradition and importance of maintaining continuity of social life while introducing reforms. They were altogether for modernity but not at the cost of tradition. M G Ranade said: "We cannot break with past altogether; with our past we should not break altogether, for it is a rich inheritance, and we have no reason to be ashamed of it."³⁹

They knew very well that India could not hope to dispense with all those appliances of modern life which western science had placed at the disposal of man. Influence of western thought was such that the country could not escape from adopting the western thought and institutions. Most of these activists apparently denounced the traditional institutions as the very bane of the society. Speaking on the evils in society in general, C.Y. Chintamani commented: "No other fact in the history of the nation is more prominent than that of the tyranny on society, of priests and of rulers which has proved the most effective weapon to kill the latent forces making for the development of man and growth of nation...The social institutions of the Hindus which were

embodiments of the wisdom, the self seeking wisdom of the priests, have produced the same melancholy effect by killing all individual freedom and crippling the best faculties of the human mind. There is no other country in the world where caste and customs have great influence than India, and where every incentive to action and every ideal are judged with reference to the dictates of these two worst of tyrants"⁴⁰ (i.e. social institutions and priestly classes). The educated elite bitterly attacked the whole social structure of the society for ignoring the specific changes coming into society with interaction of western culture.

The basic drawback in the historiography of this period except that of political activists was that almost all writers wrote in their own utopian and conservative framework. They never critically analyse the multi-religious character of Indian society in their minds. Moreover, all these writers ignore the democratic and secular tenets of modern time. This is one distinction, one can find, between devotees and historians.

The second school of imperialist writers and administrators emerged soon after the formation of Arya Samaj. It includes Sir Mackworth Young, Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir Robert Egerton, Valentine Chirol, Hans Kohn and followed by Lewis Namier's followers. The basic contention of this school is that the Arya Samaj was "a political movement" which played an important part in the "seditious agitation" both in the Punjab and neighbouring United Provinces.⁴¹ Even before the foundation of this organisation, Swami Dayanand was designated as a "rebel" of an high order by Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy of India (1873-76). He even directed his subordinates to watch the activities of this "rebel."⁴² Later on, this viewpoint was shared by many of his subordinates in several capacities. They were, needless to say, keen to save the *Raj* from all possible dangers.

Most of the British officials recognised that the Arya Samaj was a political body for a number of its prominent members had figured conspicuously in anti-British agitation. "That the Arya Samaj, which shows the impress of western influence in so much of its social work, should have at the same time associated itself so intimately with a political movement directed against the British rule is one of the many anomalies presented by the problem of Indian unrest."⁴³ Most of these officials had almost identical views about it. Sir Mackworth Young, Lt. Governor of the Punjab, was probably the first official of the province who regarded it as "the most active and at the same time most dangerous of these societies in the Punjab."⁴⁴

It is true that Arya Samaj devoted its energies to reform Hinduism and to bring all of them together under one banner—the *Vedic Dharma*. It was neither a political organisation, as was often claimed by its leaders, nor did they take part in politics.

Why were these officials so hostile to the activities of the Samaj? Arya Samaj's opposition to Christian missionaries and their proselytising work, its uncompromising attitude towards corruption and official oppression made it conspicuous.⁴⁵ The official hostility was, therefore, natural.

Like British officials, Christian missionaries also became severe critics of the Arya Samaj when it went in for large-scale conversions, popularly known as *shuddhi* (purification). In the beginning, Christian missionaries had hoped that Arya Samaj's success in breaking down the superstitions of Hindus would ultimately pave the way for the spread of Christianity in the country. However, this had the opposite effect because by reforming Hinduism, it strengthened it. The British officials often cooperated with the Christian men and women for they had been sent out with the "distinct object of making India a Christian country".⁴⁶ However, both the groups had identical aim in proselytising one another. But in this realm, Arya Samaj had the disadvantage of being called "anti-British" because it was "anti-Christian."⁴⁷

The contemporary British scholars and administrators in their writings and speeches have depicted Arya Samaj as an anti-British movement. The Aryas were held responsible for various agitations against the government. Moreover, it was alleged that their involvement was obvious in anti-British riots and even in communal riots that occurred in several parts of the Punjab. On assuming charge as Lt. Governor of the Punjab, Denzil Ibbetson in his Minute to the Viceroy wrote about the situation of the province as "threatening—the active spirits belong almost without exception to the Arya Samaj, a society founded primarily with a religious object, but which in the Punjab at least, has always had a strong political bent."⁴⁸ The Arya Samajists protested against the views of Ibbetson and asserted that their movement was a "religious and educational one having nothing to do with politics."⁴⁹ Even then the government considered their places of worship and institutions as "dens of seditious talk" and kept a close watch on them.

The officials and imperialist spokesmen discredited Punjabi leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh and held them responsible for the occurrence of riots in many parts of the Punjab. They defended their deportation in the name of restoration of law and order in the province. Valentine Chirol went to the extent of alleging their involvement in "translation and publication of seditious literature" that dealt with the making of bombs.⁵⁰ He did not even spare the school teachers and charged them of preaching revolutionary doctrines in their schools and carrying on correspondence with revolutionaries. When the officials began to doubt their bonafides, the members of the Arya Samaj began holding "secret meetings", delivering "inflammatory lectures" and distributing photographs of their comrades to inspire the emergent youth of the Punjab.⁵¹

Severe punishment was inflicted upon the Arya Samajists; their entry into government jobs was restricted and those already employed were harassed and even dismissed from service.⁵² It was in fact a warning to them either to leave Arya Samaj or service in government departments. In order to save themselves, some of the Samajists entered into the Congress-fold. By joining Congress, they could represent the political and religious aspirations of their followers⁵³. *Kirtan mandalis*, *Prabhat pheris* and Sunday congregations became a part of their regular work so that they were not cut off from the people. They worked secretly for making Arya Samaj a popular movement in the Punjab. It was simultaneously their effort to create a strong opposition to the alien rule by instilling religious awareness and patriotic zeal in their minds⁵⁴. For this strategy, the British writers nicknamed them as "anarchists", and men of "very formidable character."⁵⁵ It was their effort not to recognise India's emerging aspirations through socio-cultural channel.

The Arya Samajists had to face stringent punishment during Rowlatt Bills agitation, Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the promulgation of Martial Law in the Punjab. This was the time when they came openly into the nationalist struggle. On the occasion of the special session of the Indian National Congress at Lahore, Swami Sharddhanand became Chairman of the Reception Committee. The leaders not only extended their support but also joined the non-cooperation movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920. The Arya Samaj on the other hand became active in the social service of the masses - establishment of orphanages, organising famine-relief, opening of schools and colleges etc. This was partly to counteract Christian missionaries' activities.⁵⁶

A question arises as to why did the British government adopt such a stern and hostile attitude towards the Arya Samaj, especially in the province of the Punjab. It was in the Punjab that the teachings of Swami Dayanand found a very congenial soil. Here the number of the Aryas and the Samajs was the largest in the country. The educated classes largely accepted the teachings of Dayanand and strove to spread them. Under the impact of the Arya Samaj the people began to show signs of awakening, religious, social and political. For the British the Punjab was of supreme importance, politically and militarily. They, therefore, viewed with concern any activity or organisation which appeared to be a source of danger to the continuation and stability of the *Raj*.

The press was a significant means for the Arya Samaj leaders to spread their message. To propagate its culture and ideology, several newspapers such as the *Punjabee*, *Arya Patrika*, *Vedic Magazine* and *Arya Gazette* were started.⁵⁷ The officials and imperialist spokesmen displayed their anti-Arya Samaj attitude in organs like *The Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), *Pioneer* (Allahabad), *Englishman* (Calcutta), *Times of India* (Bombay) and *Madras Mail* (Madras).⁵⁸ However, it was

Valentine Chirol of the *Times* (London) who was the most bitter, consistent and avowed critic of Arya Samaj. This movement was deemed to have "a very strong under-current of anti British feeling.....it is rife wherever the Arya Samaj is known to be most active."⁵⁹ When he made special visits to India during 1907-10, he found that "the whole drift of Dayanand teachings is far less to reform Hinduism than to range it into active resistance to the alien influence which threatened to denationalise it."⁶⁰ Despite governmental repression this movement continued to gain momentum and popular appeal.⁶¹

After independence, some Indian and foreign scholars took to writing of social history, hitherto a neglected field. K.K. Datta, V.A. Narain, S.R. Singh, Ravinder Kumar, Charles Heimsath, K.N. Panikkar, A.R. Desai, Sumir Sarkar etc. have made commendable efforts in tracing the various and complex strands of India's social history. R.P. Dua, Radhey Shyam Pareek, Dhanpati Pandey, Saraswati S. Pandit, N.B. Sen, and a few others have also tried to analyse the multifarious activities of Arya Samaj and its founder.

It is generally believed by some of these historians that there was an intimate inter-connection between religious beliefs and social practices. There was religious hegemony over the social life of the masses. In such situation, it was quite impossible to undertake any social action without coming to grips with it.⁶² Some of the reformers (both Hindus and Muslims) insisted on the role of religion in the progress and reform of society. But prospectus of reforms were not always dominated by religious thoughts. A judicious and worldly perspective was positively visible in providing option to the existing social performances. In opposing polygamy, child marriage, and *sati* and advocating widow marriage, many prominent reformers had nothing to do with 'religious sanctions' whether they existed in the past or not.⁶³ These cruel practices left a profound impact on the society. Religious bindings could be changed as these were created by man in order to maintain hegemony over others. Religious practices were not considered as the binding force by many progressive thinkers because of their universalistic approach.⁶⁴

Marxist historiography asserts that the socio-religious movement initiated in 19th India was basically 'a cultural-ideological struggle against the backward elements of traditional culture' such as idolatory, polytheism, priestly hegemony and simplification of religious observances. A man could escape from religious traditions in order to lead peaceful life in the society. If the reform movements had totally rejected tradition, Indian society would have easily undergone a process of westernization. But the reformers were aiming at modernization rather than westernization.⁶⁵

The reformers who believed in revivalism were not won over by the logical argument for they were not basing their action on pure reason but on sentiments. Unlike other reformers, they had an understanding of the emotions and sentiments that ruled the hearts of majority of the people. About their understanding of both modernity and tradition, it can be said that they were revivalists in real sense of the term but reformers in revivalist garb.⁶⁶

Progressive historiography of this school visualised that modern society established in India by the British conquest was "a new society unknown to all past history."⁶⁷ The new social and economic order vis-a-vis the interaction between the old religious outlook, practices and organization gave stimulus to various socio-religious reform movements in India. These scholars suggest that the leaders of these movements tried to overhaul the old religion in the spirit of new principles of nationalism and democracy.⁶⁸ With the passage of time and imbued with new social structure provided by the new rule, reformers began to extend the sphere of religion on broader level. The prescriptive traditions with old value system needed change in order to create reformed society. The religion did not determine the life of individual as the reformation had shook the papal hegemony in Europe. In India, the case was totally different as economic, social, cultural and ethical values were strictly regulated by religion.⁶⁹

The historiography of post-independence period explicitly asserted that the first national awakening expressed itself in the form of a series of religio-reform movements. Some of these movements aimed at revising the traditional religion in the spirit of the principles of liberalism. Others aimed at restoring it to pure form in which it existed in ancient India. Scholars like A.R. Desai and others accept that Arya Samaj was basically a revivalist movement which had both the progressive and reactionary roles as some of its leaders gave importance to western education and sciences and others only to *Gurukul* system of ancient Vedic period. When the Arya Samaj denounced religious superstitions, polytheism, caste system, adopted educational programme, equality between man and woman, its role become progressive.⁷⁰ But when it talked of Vedas, Vedic culture and *Varna* system, it played anti-progressive or reactionary role in the society. The occurrence of communal riots are also attributed to Arya Samaj. It provided an opportunity to Muslims "to mobilise on a corresponding communal basis."⁷¹ It is generally accepted by several historians that it played a very progressive role in the earlier stages of Indian nationalism but created, later on, consciously or unconsciously communal atmosphere in the country.

It is generally believed that the major aim of the Arya Samaj was to introduce radical social and religious changes in Indian society, and it had nothing to do with politics. Dhanapati Pardey has tried to dispel this notion.⁷² In his opinion, this

movement aimed at emancipating India from the British domination. In support of his argument he says that long before the Indian National Congress took up the programme of *swadeshi*, boycott, national education, national language, social amelioration, its founder, Swami Dayanand, had already laid great stress on these aspects and reforms. Dr. Pandey further argues that its founder was the first Indian who gave the war-cry of '*Swaraj* is our birth right' and brought out the distinction between *Suraj* (good government) and *Swaraj* (self-government).⁷³ In his opinion, this movement taught this revolutionary gospel at a time when nobody could dare to define *Swaraj*. In support of his argument, he says that it was this movement which made the Indians realise that they were the inheritors of a great heritage, considered to be one of the old civilizations of the world. This movement, undoubtedly, aroused cultural renaissance and it was in this background that the later nationalist school (extremist section of Indian National Congress) flourished.⁷⁴

For the past few decades some American scholars have been taking interest in Arya Samaj and its impact on society. These are N. G. Barrier, Kenneth W. Jones J.T.F. Jordens and others. Their writings principally relate to Arya Samaj in Punjab. They believe that the Arya Samaj helped in the emergence of Hindu social consciousness and Punjabi Hindu elite.⁷⁵ It was the communal competition among the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs that compelled the Hindu elite to channelise Hindu potential for identity formation in order to respond to the non-Hindu communal forces. Secondly, it provided a forum to meet the threat of Christian missionaries for mass conversions. Thirdly, the Punjabi intellectuals could not tolerate the crafty policies of the British which tried to use one community against another.⁷⁶

The American writings assert that under the British rule, English education and institutions had begun to expand the social base of the Punjabis who found themselves afterwards culturally alienated. Consequently, it assumed the form of a crisis for identity in a competitive society. It was Swamiji's work and vision which helped the Punjabi Hindus to solve their identity crisis problem.⁷⁷ The programme of Arya Samaj movement with its *Shuddhi* made it determined and militant in nature. It was only Hindu politics not national politics that appealed them the most.⁷⁸ It is because of this that the organisational work of Congress in Punjab remained in crisis and it failed to take roots in the soil of Punjab. This is also an irony of fate that this movement failed to provide stimulus to the Hindu elite living outside Punjab while the crisis of identity was common to all of them.

Swami Dayanand and Arya Samaj, during the last one hundred years, has provided a rich field to the historians and biographers. They have analysed this movement, as is clear from the above, from different standpoints. A study and interpretation of the past is a continuous process. It has not and will not come to a halt; the Arya Samaj is not free from this truth.

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Swami Dayanand and 'Antahakaran Chatyushtya' : A Psychological Perspective

Upinder Dhar

Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883) was born at Tankara in Gujrat. He was an outstanding person who pioneered cultural, religious and social awakening in India. His father was an Audichya Brahmin and a man of affluence and prestige. Dayanand had two brothers and two sisters. When 5 years old, he learnt numerous extracts and verses from Sanskrit literature. He travelled extensively during his life and founded Arya Samaj at Bombay on April 10, 1875. Being a preacher of Vedas, a great task was performed by him for the revival of Vedic religion and civilization. His ideology had roots in the theories propounded in the Vedas, Upanishadas and the six systems of Indian philosophical thought.

Antahakaran Chatyushtya (Four-fold Internal Organ). The Vedas employ the word 'mind' for the entire apparatus residing within the body which has been referred to by later philosophers by the word 'antahakaran' or internal organ. In line with such philosophers and commentators, Swami Dayanand also divided the internal organ, from the view point of function, into four parts—mind, reason, memory and ego (*mana*, *budhi*, *chitta* and *ahamkara*).¹ Mind oscillates between alternatives, and with reference to the body, its main function is to gather sensory knowledge through the sense organs and to instruct the organs of action to respond accordingly. In modern psychology, the behaviourism presumes stimulus-response as the basis of human psychology. Since the concept of mind is totally rejected, no attempt is made to discover the behind the agent decisions and choices of alternatives that occur in the brain.

The sensations derived in the indeterminate state of perception provide no knowledge about the subject. If anything is discovered, it is that these are sensations without any awareness of the object from which they proceed. When these sensations coalesce in the mind, it is the mind that unites or combines them and then the realization dawns that these are the sensations of this object. This the determinate state (*Savikalpak*) of perception. At this stage, in process of knowing, the knower is aware not only of the sensations, but of his decisions about the underlying substance also, which assist him in determining the nature of the object. Any such decision is inconceivable without a conscious knower. because a decision involves recognizing an object as 'this' and 'not this', while in the sphere of action, it involves choosing one form of action instead of another. Voluntary choice of an act as desirable proves that the behaviour of human being constitutes not merely the

response to a stimulus, but living decisions guided by the power that chooses between alternatives, modes and decides upon one of them. And it is the mind that involves itself in actions.

The second function of the *antahakaran* is the reason. The reason possesses the ability to form definite knowledge. It is free from doubt. When internal organ indulges in the act of remembering, it is memory (*chitta*). All the activities indulged in by the mind assume the form of impressions (*sanskars*) and enter the *antahakaran* (internal organ) from where the *chitta* can recover them in the form of memories. Watson (behaviourism) conceives of memory as a pure sensory-motor activity, but he does not explain where and how various impressions coalesce and how they return, when required. In addition, it is often experienced that when we are sitting quietly, some memory totally unconnected with the existing milieu and, thus, inexplicable in terms of any perceivable stimulus, flashes into the mind. Watson's conception of memory as a sensory motor act completely fails to provide any convincing explanation of such a common human experience. Swami Dayanand and many other Vedic philosophers believe that memories subsist in the *antahakaran* and that they are mental states (*chitta-vratti*.)

The fourth function of *antahakaran* is ego. Recognizing itself and identifying oneself as distinct from other entities is the function of the ego. One is, as a matter of course, acquainted with his/her own activities, feelings, emotions, and sensations, but in addition, believes that he/she is a separate being capable of knowing. Descartes expressed the same idea in his now famous dictum, "I think, therefore, I am." But Swami Dayanand would have preferred to re-interpret this as "I am, therefore, I think." It is this sense of 'I' or 'I am' which constitutes ego. The current movements of humanistic and existential psychology, too, emphasize that each of us has a unique inner life with various perceptions and different evaluations of the world outside. Not only is one's inner life unique, but man as an existing organism is unique from all other species.²

Through his description of *antahakaran chatyushtya* (four-fold internal organ), Swami Dayanand does not imply that mind, reason, memory and ego are four separate parts or elements. In fact, the four constitute the four separate powers or functions of the internal organ. In this way, Swami Dayanand's psychological theory is a comprehensive one, since it includes all the sensory-motor activities. It also includes memory, judgement and ego, the impressions that reside in the mind and the powerful tendencies that arise in the mind, and encompass the control over mental forces for the good of life and finally emancipation.

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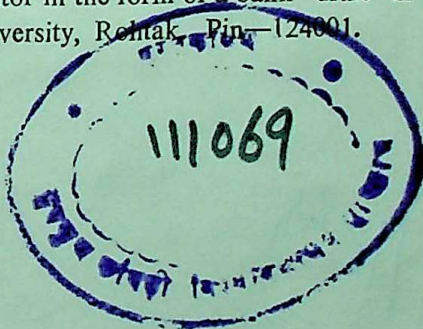
CONTRIBUTORS

1. Amal Sankar Banerjee, Lecturer, Department of History, L.B. College, P.O. Belurmath, Distt. Howrah, Calcutta.
2. Gita Srivastava, Lecturer, Department of History, Institute of Advanced Studies, Meerut University, Meerut.
3. Surendra Gopal, Professor, Department of History, Patna University, Patna.
4. Hari Om, Reader, Department of History, University of Jammu, Jammu.
5. S.C. Sharma, Lecturer, Department of History, M.A.M. College, Jammu.
6. Shyamala Bhatia, Lecturer, Department of History, Bharati Mahila College (University of Delhi), Delhi.
7. S.C. Mittal, Reader, Department of History, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.
8. Anand Gauba, Lecturer, Department of History, B.B.K.D.A.V. College for women, Amritsar.
9. Dhanpati Pandey, Professor, Department of History, Bhagalpur University, Bhagalpur (Bihar).
10. Shrawan Kumar Sharma, Lecturer, Department of English, Gurukul Kangri University, Harwar.
Karuna Sharma, Research Scholar, Department of English, Gurukul Kangri University, Harwar.
11. Madhavi Yasin, Reader, Department of History, Kashmir University, Srinagar.
12. N. K. Sharma, Lecturer, Department of English, Hindu College, Sonapat.
13. Raj Kumar, Senior Research Officer, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi.
14. G. D. Shukla, Professor, Department of History, Sardar Patel University, Vallabh Vidyanagar, (Gujarat).
15. R. K. Ghai, Lecturer, Department of Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala.
16. M. A. Ansari, Lecturer in History, Radhehari Government Post-Graduate College, Kashipur (U.P.).
17. Om P. Gupta, Lecturer, Department of History, Government Raza P. G. College, Rampur (U.P.).
18. Manmohan K. Bhatnagar, Reader, Department of English, Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak.
19. Shiv Kumar Gupta, Lecturer, Department of History, Punjabi University, Patiala.
20. S. R. Bakshi, Associate Editor, *Towards Freedom*, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi.

21. K. Sreenivasa Santha, Reader, Department of History, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.
22. M. L. Thakur, Lecturer, Department of History, S.V.S.D. College, Bhatoti, Naya Nangal, Una(H.P.).
23. Nazer Singh, Lecturer in History, Correspondance Courses, Punjabi University, Patiala.
24. Manjul Gupta, Lecturer, Department of Sanskrit, Pali & Prakrit, M. D. University, Rohtak.
25. Sudhi Kant Bhardwaj, Reader, Department of Sanskrit, Pali & Prakrit, M. D. University, Rohtak.
26. Yajan Veer Dahiya, Reader, Department of Sanskrit, Pali & Prakrit, M. D. University, Rohtak.
27. Bishambar Dayal Yadav, Lecturer, Department of History, M. D. University, Rohtak.
28. Upinder Dhar, Lecturer, Department of Psychology, M. D. University, Rohtak.

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